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11-12-1 (23) **Vol. 2 No. 11 (Nov.-Dec.)** Ont. Union delegates call for socialism in Canada, by P. Kent (Ontario Federation of Labor Manifesto)

11-12-2 (Editorials) PQ victory opens up a new era (for Quebec); Will lead to a labor party; (Forward) Forum discusses USSR and woman's movement

11-12-3a Oct. 14: acid test for the left (left currents in Canada flub support for CLC Day of Protest)

11-12-3b (continuation) "…the *Spartacist* developed its sectarian line…"

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forward Vol.2 No.2 January 1976

For mass rally of Cdn labor to beat controls

By the editors

The calling and the organization of a congress of all unions of the Canadian Labour Congress, the Quebec Confederation of National Trade Unions, and the provincial teachers' organizations to map out a plan of action against the Trudeau government's wage freeze is now a matter of extreme urgency.

The anti-inflation legislation, so called to sustain the fraud that it is something completely different from what it truly is — purely and simply a wage freeze — has now been passed through parliament. It has been imposed by a mechanical Liberal majority which not only has no mandate, but even campaigned against controls in getting elected.

The NDP voted against it once, alone, (the Tories dissociating themselves from the NDP opposition) and again, later, this time joined by the Tories who made the record that these controls were not what they themselves had in mind when they campaigned and lost in the last federal election.

The wage freeze passed into law, while the CLC leadership opposed it in words that were stronger than ever, but while they failed to conduct anything but the merest token action against it.

When appearing before the House of Commons finance committee, CLC Executive Vice-president Shirley Carr declared that organized labor "is not prepared to accept Bill C73 — either in principle or in practice." The CLC brief declared that the government itself must take "a significant part of the blame for the domestic causes of inflation" and outlined an alternative program which among others demanded a massive housing program that would drive down rents, regulation of oil, gas and energy prices, etc.

QFL leader Louis Laberge scored the government's bill as "iniquitous, hateful and unjust because it dishonestly implies (in the face of government admission to the contrary) that the worker is responsible for inflation..." Carr threatened that "massive non-compliance, including strikes, may take place if the bill is not withdrawn."

Put words into action

In shameful contrast to these words, the promises of serious protest actions, particularly considering the response throughout Ontario CLC ranks, and the collective resources at their disposal, was the one shot operation organized almost surreptitiously by the Metro Toronto Labor Council leadership on November 19. A mere 4 or 5 buses of unionists were shipped off to Ottawa to confront the government and Toronto area MP's. The half million dollar CLC war chest has so far produced only a miserable ad that appeared in several dailies on the eve of the bill's passage promoting the fatuous slogan. "Wage Controls — Why Me?"

It is now obvious that without such a congress and the unity of organized labor around a democratically agreed upon fighting program the working people of this country are going to suffer a series of defeats.

If there was any doubt about the crucial significance of the bill to the working people of Canada this has been clarified by: the anti-inflation board's recent announcement that the controls will apply not only to Trudeau's original estimate of 1,500 companies but to some 7,500 companies; by employer after employer declaring the guidelines as the upper limit in their negotiations with union locals; and by the board's strikebreaking pronouncements against the Toronto secondary school teachers.

The "anti-inflation" board intervened to not only denounce the demands that the teachers are striking for as being in violation of the guidelines, but to repudiate the last rejected offer of the Toronto school board as also being in violation, and to dump previous assurances that it would permit increases where "an historical relationship has been established" whereby Toronto secondary teachers have had wage parity with Toronto primary school teachers.

Claims that the longstanding collective bargaining process in Canada has now, by these regulations, been pronounced dead — are by no means an exaggeration.

An increasing number of companies are repudiating previous offers and presenting new ones drastically scaled downwards to their estimate of what the Ottawa board will declare as not violating the guidelines. This is becoming so widespread that federal Labor Minister John Munro himself has had to denounce the pulp and paper companies, struck more than five months ago, long before the imposition of the guidelines, with "just using the guidelines to hide behind."

The CLC national executive, the leadership of CUPE and the UAW who have denounced the wage freeze with exhortations that individual union locals should bargain as if the controls program does not exist, are burying their heads in the sand, and along with that the legitimate aspirations of their members confronted with the stark reality of the determination of Ottawa and their relative weakness.

Key sectors of organized labor have demonstrated their desire to resist the wage freeze. If this will has been moderated in any way, it is due to a failure of concrete leadership from the top central levels of the union movement. It is certain to be roused to new heights as the full implications of the freeze are brought home to wider layers of the working class, both organized and unorganized.

Certain sectors of the union movement are already thrust out into the

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A time for action

Continued from page 1

forefront. But it must be frankly admitted that it will be difficult for them to successfully resist the enforcement of theguidelines on their own ranks not to speak of compelling the government to retreat from the freeze — without powerful back-up, unless there is a coordinated campaign of all labor, united around a central strategy.

One week following the 15,000 strong demonstration through the streets of Montreal protesting the freeze, delegates from the affiliates of the 180,000 strong Quebec Federation met to discuss how to combat this freeze. Those representing Canadian Union of Public Employees locals urged the organization of a mass general strike. Steel delegates expressed opposition. A workshop discussion saw 39% of the delegates favor a general strike of unlimited duration, 18% abstain, and 48% opposed. The majority of the assembly favored general strike but expressed concern that a Quebec strike may find itself without the necessary widespread support, above all from the rest of the country. They also expressed awareness that if such action is not taken before February, three major common front unions, representing 185,000 public service workers will be placed in a weakened bargaining position.

The delegates ordered QFL officers to initiate a massive publicity campaign against the 10% wage ceiling, work-to-rule orders, study sessions, mass demonstrations and rallies in the next few months.

Such a plan of action must be discussed at conferences organized on a city, area, province-wide and finally pan-Canadian plane, where agreements can be hammered out that will win the support of the widest layers and where actions that will mobilize them can be initiated and carried out.

Only through a conscious and worked out unity can there be effective resistance against the wage freeze. Only a strategy involving the decisive forces of the organized working class can force the repeal of this iniquitous blow against the workers of Canada.

"Doctrinaire" move?

The decision of the Saskatchewan NDP government under the leadership of Premier Allan Blakeney to take over a significant portion of that province's potash industry must be welcomed as a major step forward for Canadian workers.

Locked in a fierce legal battle with the American-owned potash mining companies, who have been refusing to pay their taxes, laying off workers and cutting back production, the NDP government acted to end the sabotage.

So it comes as a surprise that Blakeney went out of his way to say that the takeover bid did not flow out of a doctrinaire dedication to public ownership, that nationalization was simply "the best way" to deal with the potash industry.

Blakeney's pragmatism was recently echoed by NDP leader Stephen Lewis. Asked about the Ontario NDP's convention-adopted policy of placing Ontario's primary resource industries under public ownership, Lewis said that this would be done in the long-run and "For me, that run is sufficiently long that I can't see the horizon."

The implication of both these comments is that socialism is impractical, that if public ownership, to quote Lewis, "can be avoided, fine — but if it can't, well..."

But socialism, which involves expropriation of the basic productive plants and resources of Canada, is a most useful and practical tool as Blakeney has himself discovered. Without public ownership, there is no way the American-dominated Saskatchewan potash cartels could have been restrained in their sabotage and blackmail.

The small minority of corporate magnates who, through their interlocking directorates on major corporate bodies dominate the wealth of Canada, exert a tremendous concentrated control over Canadian society. Through integration into the upper echelons of the judiciary and political parties of big business, they exert predominant influence over the major social, poitical and judicial issues of Canadian society.

In this context, when the labor movement and its allies succeed in establishing NDP governments, it should not come as a surprise that policies oriented to working people should face harassment from big business.

Public ownership is an indispensable and necessary tool to confront this thwarting of the public interest. Far from being one of many alternatives available to the NDP, it is the only instrument capable of decisively undermining the imperious arrogance of those who put higher profit levels ahead of the welfare of the mass of the population.

Therefore, to relegate public ownership to somewhere beyond the horizon, to separate the immediate and practical needs of working people from the goals of a socialist commonwealth, is to show ignorance of the nature of the enemy.

The Saskatchewan NDP left have argued repeatedly the case for democratically-controlled public ownership to the scoffing of the liberal-reformist NDP leadership. But Blakeney's takeover bid has received broad public support both within the NDP and the labor movement, not because of its pragmatism but because of its practicality.

We hope that this lesson will not be forgotten by the membership and leadership of the NDP in other provinces in the many battles of the future.

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NOTHING WITHOUT LABOUR

forward Dec.'75/Jan.'76 Vol.2 No.2

01-01-2

Teachers head battle against wage-freeze

By Ross Dowson

When the Liberal federal government's Anti-Inflation Review Board, with incredible arrogance, intervened against the Metro Toronto teachers' strike to declare that not only the Hartt Report but the last Metropolitan Toronto school board offer that the teachers had rejected, was excessive — it hoped to rip apart the increasing unity and militancy of the teachers and to start a back-to-work movement.

With the support of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation district heads, the Toronto teachers, then in the third week of strike, responded with speed and firmness. They stood solid on their demands which would defend their wages against already massive inflationary cuts, and their right to bargain and to strike in defence of the quality of education in the secondary schools, now being abandoned by the Tory provincial government which has scurried to place the teachers heretofore subject to their jurisdiction, under the federal guidelines freeze.

The OSSTF executive adopted a program that gave considerable concrete expression to the militant response to Toronto District 15 President Margaret Wilson: "When a group of people has been put down in our society and subjected to arbitrary decisions, then civil disobedience is morally justified." Among its decisions was one "to protect the collective bargaining process and the quality of local educational programs by planned selective defiance of unjust applications of the Anti-Inflation Measures."

The first of the planned acts of defiance was the mobilization of some 5,000 teachers and supporters on December 11 before the Ontario Legislature, then in session.

Ontario Federation President Jim Forster voiced the determination of the demonstration when he underscored that it is the Toronto teachers who "have been singled out" by Ottawa's AIB and who are in the forefront of the struggle against its attacks on Canadian workers. Premier Davis' attempt to isolate the teachers as a "special interest group" as against the interests of "the people" for whom he claimed to stand, aroused a storm of ridicule and protest.

NDP leader Stephen Lewis turned the powerful outburst of applause that greeted his appearance into silence and then protest when, supposedly in the name of the NDP — many of whose ranks were in the demonstration — he had the gall to tell the teachers that they "must make concessions" and, instead of civil disobedience, must wait and suffer until the next election "to change the government."

The provincial executive meeting which adopted the action program reflected the impact of the veritable baptism of fire that the Toronto teachers are undergoing and its effect on the federation as a whole, long plagued by a false professionalism and a "company union" relationship with the government and its educational departments.

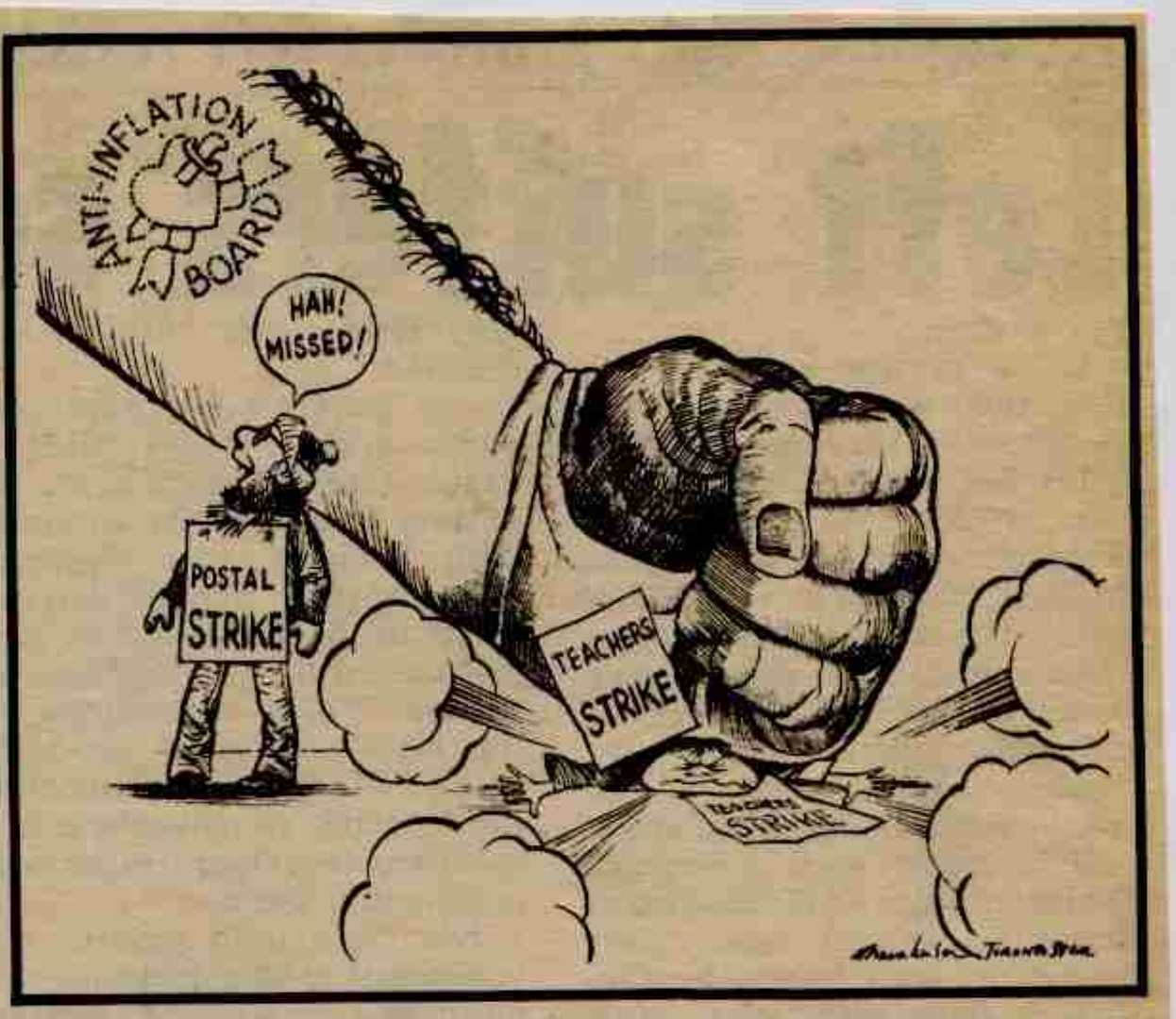
The combined federal Liberal and provincial Tory governments' campaign, through their influence and control of the mass media, to present the teachers as being involved in a completely selfish effort to "grab more and more" has been so vicious as to cause the chairman of the Metro Toronto Board of Education to express public concern. He felt it necessary to protest the danger that the teachers, stripped of what is actually a false dignity of professionalism, will adopt the union stance of skilled labour.

While there were many reservations expressed, the provincial executive meeting marked a significant step towards identification with the organized labor movement. It decided to urge the Canadian Federation to establish formal relations with the CLC for the purpose of exchange of information and activities, and through the Ontario Federation to establish formal liaison with the Ontario Federation of Labor. It also instructed the provincial executive to develop "a position paper that would form the basis of its recommendations to the Ontario government should Ontario decided to assume a measure of responsibility for wage and price controls in the province."

In an effort to take the heat off their federal party, the Ontario Liberals, while endorsing the freeze, have put a motion before the Ontario house that it opt out of the federal guidelines and assume its traditional responsibility for the teachers and education. With the NDP members supporting the motion the Tory minority government is highly susceptible to this pressure. Premier Davis has responded that if Ontario opts out, "if we run our own store, and this is followed by other provinces, I tell you right now the (federal) program is nationally dead."

On December 5 the first issue of **Mandate**, the official newspaper of the Metro OSSTF, appeared. In its lead article associate editor Pengelley counterposes — as an alternative to the defeatist suggestion the teachers go back under the old offer and press for a review — that the Ontario government set up its "own anti-inflation board to adjudicate settlement in the province." He adds, "This was Stephen Lewis' task." He scores Lewis, who is trying to straddle the teachers' demands and the forces that are falling prey to the bosses' propaganda, for his "forked tongue pronouncements."

The teachers are bracing for an extended struggle on the picket line. As the mediation attempts went into their 8th day and the strike into its second month, the Federation cut strike pay to the picketing teachers back from 40 to 36% of their regular salary. On December 11, teachers in the adjourning Peel County backed up a federation recommendation by voting 70% to reject a tentative offer.



Teachers, having suffered wage controls for three years under provincial cutbacks and budget ceilings, are first to be hit with wage controls.

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

Passing by, almost unnoticed, as of January 1st, Canada will lose its longstanding preferential trade rights in the English-speaking Caribbean countries.

The preferential rights conceded by preceding Jamaican administrations were among the privileges exacted through the relatively large imperialist investment of the Canadian capitalist class in that area. Their loss reflects the decline in importance of this investment and its replacement by US imperialist interests.

An article analyzing Canada as an imperialist state, entitled **Canada's Branch Plant Imperialism**, that appeared in our October 1974 issue, stated: "Canadian capital interests in the Caribbean, discounting Alcan, are in the marginal areas of the economy. Alcan being actually US-owned, the Canadian state in its relations with the governments of the Caribbean tends to increasingly function as a service agency for US imperialist interests which are growing in the Caribbean and are supplanting the longstanding Canadian private capital interests."

Jamaica's High Commissioner to Canada, K.G. Anthony Hall, noted that even with the preferential system in place, an increasing proportion of traditional Canadian exports to Jamaica has been taken over by US marketers. He said the Canadian loss carried the implication of a loss of markets to US exporters.

Canadian preferences have been dumped as part of an agreement with the European Economic Community in return for Jamaican access to some European markets.

under federal jurisdiction, licensing and capital and reserve requirements; that they be restricted in the number and location of their branches (apparently most banks favor a limit of one office per foreign bank); and that they be allowed to operate only if their home countries grant at least equal status to Canadian banks.

The Bank of Montreal brief conceded that complete legislative control over all financial institutions would seem to be the solution, however, by "application of pure logic," it noted: "the dificulties of application of this logic to the Canadian situation are manifest, not only because of the practical and conceptual problems of definition involved, but also because of the political realities and constitutional niceties in a federal state such as ours."

A free interpretation of the above paragraph could be that with the overwhelming weight of US finance capital in the Canadian economy and the already high degree of its integration with the US, Canadian capitalist interests lie in not bucking the action but in continuing to join in on the action and making the most of it.

Paul B. Paine, chairman and president of the Montreal Trust company, told a press conference that if the chartered banks extend their powers through their proposed changes in the Bank Act that trust companies could become an endangered species.

For the working people of Canada the only course is the opening of a campaign for the nationalization of all the banking and financial institutions in the country.

• • •

Canada's chartered banks, chief funders of the US corporate takeover of the Canadian economy, their boards of directors heavily infiltrated by representatives of some of the giants of U.S. monopoly capital, are divided as to policy with regards to revisions, that Ottawa should make in the Bank Act in 1977.

The Canadian Bankers Association, in presenting its brief on the 1977 Bank Act revision to Finance Minister Macdonald brought out the schisms in the ranks of this cabal.

The CBA brief urges that all financial institutions should be brought under the same regulations, but the powerful Bank of Montreal has broken the circle by suggesting that instead of widening the sphere of legislation to take in the proliferating near-banks that are jumping across the border, the regulations on the chartered banks be eased so that they can more readily get into the action.

All are concerned about the growth, particularly over the past three years, of representatives and subsidiaries of largely US banks and financial institutions. The CBA estimates that there are now about 170 such operations in the country with assets of about 1.8 billion dollars.

"Foreign banks, either directly or indirectly exercise far broader powers in Canada than Canadian chartered banks," according to the CBA brief, which makes as "the basic issue" — "the growth of this activity completely free of any control or supervision by the federal monetary authorities."

The brief itself recognized "some difference in emphasis" among CBA members, but presented as a majority view: that foreig banks and related companies in Canada be brought

Canada's High Commissioner in Britain, Paul Martin, is in the front rank with officials of Ottawa's Foreign Investment Review Agency who are assuring European capitalists that this legislation is in no way designed to impede foreign take-overs of the Canadian economy.

He added a new twist before the labor-harassed Chamber of Commerce of the industrially blighted city of Manchester.

Come to Canada, he urged. Don't worry about the dangers and the protesters against nuclear reactors or pollution! The European Economic Community will need solutions, he said, to "new and emerging problems such as increased energy costs, protection of the environment and supply of raw materials." Come to Canada, he urged, in harmony with that infamous Canadian bank ad that appeared in the New York press — "We sell Canada."

• • •

Some New Leftists, not in an agitational framework, which would be justifiable, but on an analytical plane, have characterized Quebec as an internal colony of the indigenous Anglo-Canadian capitalist class, notwithstanding the fact that US imperialist investment is far more massive and far more strategic than Anglo-Canadian capital investment there.

Now the Montreal daily **La Presse** tells us that it was the pressure of US financiers that caused Quebec Premier Bourassa to take over the 1976 summer Olympic Games from Drapeau and the administration of the city of Montreal. According to **La Presse**, Moody's, a US securities-rating firm, issued a report a short time ago expressing serious doubts about Montreal's financial capacity. One bankrupt city — New York — is enough for US investors.

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01-01-4

Toronto Socialist League holds annual conference

By G. Donnelly

The Socialist League held its second annual conference on November 27.

The some 30 participants noted the steady, though modest, growth of the organization from a small discussion group to an active political organization with its own publications, stable finances, and above all developed political positions. The SL's activities range from participation in the NDP and the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws to active trade union work and leadership in the student movement.

Having emerged as a core from the League for Socialist Action in early 1974, the Socialist League began by reaffirming the long-held Trotskyist position on the labor party in Canada and the well proven orientation to the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment that have continued to permeate the Canadian political scene. The conference confirmed once again the centrality of the NDP as the vehicle of independent political action by the labor movement as it continues to gain strength electorally and through the development of new left forces who express a deep-rooted conviction for fundamental social change.

The conference marked significant strides in the composition of its newly elected leadership who for the most part are new young activists from the women's, students' and the trade union movement. Stu Sinclair, himself an experienced unionist, was elected staff organizer. While the Socialist League is presently Toronto-centred, it has ongoing relations with political co-thinkers in Vancouver and other locations. The perspective is to establish a pan-Canadian socialist movement based on a principled Marxist program with a mass orientation to the political experiences of the Canadian working class.

The Socialist League maintains an internationalist outlook in recognition of the need for a workers' party organized on a world scale which would be capable of leading the struggle for socialism, but recognizes that no adequate organization of this type exists at this time.

The period ahead will be a testing period to sensitively establish a Marxist program and outlook among the politically conscious elements of the Canadian working class.

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PM accidently poses socialism as issue

By the Editors

Is the millionaire P.E. Trudeau, head of Canada's big business party par excellence, and the prime minister of Canada, really some kind of a red, a communist? Is he highballing Canadian society toward a form of corporate state? Is he suffering from illusions of grandeur that he is an Orwellian Big Brother, or even the Pope?

Impossible as it is to believe, Trudeau is being publicly denounced as such, by a galaxy of public figures and in particular by the heads of Canada's corporate elite, from the chairman of its most powerful financial institution, the Royal Bank, on down. J. Page Wadsworth, chairman of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce told the Sales and Marketing Executive of Toronto that the concern Trudeau has aroused "runs so deep it will not easily be dispelled. Indeed it is probably a situation where words alone cannot mend the damage already done to the central nervous system of the country."

E.G. Burton, president of the Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto, vice-president of Simpsons, and a head of Simpsons-Sears, has charged Trudeau with turning his anti-inflation program into a campaign "to further his own socialistic goals." In a subsequent address to a Board dinner, he urged Trudeau to "cease and desist in his public show or private intention to belittle our institutions."

Echoing and expanding on these statements are Gerald Baldwin, house leader of the Progressive Conservative party, heads of Chambers of Commerce across the country, and even some Liberal party constituency associations. Cabinet Ministers Lalonde, Gillespie, Lang, and others, have been appearing here there and everywhere across the country affirming that the Liberal Government, and Trudeau too, really are believers in the free enterprise system – the capitalist system.

It hardly seems credible, as some have suggested, that this is all much ado about nothing; that all Trudeau has been saying he has said before, or that all that is really involved is some kind of political maneuver: Trudeau is stealing the show from the Tories who are trying to get in the public limelight with their party leadership contest. He is trying to provoke the Tories to respond by swinging to the right and thus leave the centre ground to his party. Or, in the face of the rising PQ threat in Quebec and the surging union opposition to the so-called anti-inflation legislation, Trudeau is trying to appear even on the left flank of the NDP.

In order to understand this hullabaloo, it is first and foremost necessary to understand that the anti-inflation legislation initiated over last Thanksgiving is a complete fraud, that there is not the slightest possibility that the AIBs will stop the inflationary spiral that has been cutting into the living standards of the Canadian working people, particularly those on fixed incomes.

At the time it was announced, every economist of stature in the academic world gave it no credibility. Some 17 of them, and others, felt called upon to formally petition Trudeau to this effect and make it publicly known. R.M. Thomson, president of the Toronto-Dominion Bank, warned that it "is a popular misconception that... inflationary pressures will subside while wage and price controls are in place, but experience has shown that, to the contrary, controls are a cork in a fermenting bottle."

According to John Crispo, leading capitalist ideologue, former dean of the faculty of Management Studies, University of Toronto, "at best it will turn out to be a temporary palliative" because he said, it doesn't deal with the major causes, but only the symptoms. Gail Cook, director of research for the Canadian Economic Policy Committee of C.D. Howe Research Institute, warned that the program cannot succeed as a result of labor being singled out as the villain causing inflation, which, she emphasized, is "incorrect and counter-productive."

Why Trudeau steamrollered ahead can only be explained on other, on political grounds. Inflation has set off widespread dissatisfaction and pressures that action should be taken. Trudeau noted this in the opening of his first contentious speech. "People are wondering," he said, "who is in charge of the economy, who is in charge of the society, and they're concerned, they're worried, and they have cause to be, and it's my job as a politician to try and not only see where we've been, and where we're at, but where we're going..." All the more because of the crisis of leadership in his party, he took the plunge.

Faced with rising militancy and an increasing unity in the ranks of the trade union movement, Trudeau has been forced into active defence of his legislation. How to convince those who are the actual victims of inflation that they should accept

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CHAIRMAN TRUDEAU

forward

Vol.2 No.3 - Feb. 19

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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system bankrupt

their own increasingly intolerable victimization, that they should acquiesce, in the interests of the stabilization and the maintenance of a society which is itself responsible for their condition? A difficult task indeed: One rendered all the more difficult when the appeals to sacrifice and acceptance of austerity are made as taxpayers' funds are being squandered on milk and on eggs, not to be produced, and the energy resources of the country are being sold out to giant US corporations to gouge the American workers.

Trudeau, ex-radical, intellectual, university professor and small "l" liberal takes to TV. While he has just dismantled the last remnant of his promised "just society", he decides to ride that horse again – a new society which we will get to through adversity. Naturally the new society has to be made attractive, particularly to the workers. The only way is to present it with a certain anti-capitalist rhetoric. The wage controls – they are "really more than that." He presents them as "a massive intervention in the decision-making power of the economic groups, and its telling Canadians we haven't been able to make it work, the free market system."

"Some economists say all you've got to do is get back to the free

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market system and make this market system work. It won't, you know. We can't destroy the big unions and we can't destroy the multinationals. We can control them, but who can control them? The government!"

The controls are only for a period which "will not only help us to reduce the rate of inflation but will also," he promises "give us the necessary time to reform our economy, institutions, our attitudes and public policies. The nature of that reform is the subject of the debate in which we are now engaged... There is a need for structural and rather basic changes in the way we seek to ensure an adequate and reliable supply of energy and food..."

Trudeau is no longer talking of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, of the onward and upward march of progress under capitalist democracy, but placing the death mark on the free market system which he later tried to differentiate from the free enterprise system, both of which are just cover words for capitalism.

Perhaps not for a university professor or even a commentator, but certainly for the political leader of Canadian capitalist society, these words can only be considered to be completely irresponsible, if not treacherous. It does not matter that they are just so much demagogy.

There are thousands of socialists in this country and there are many thousands more who are coming to question this system with its unemployment, built-in inflation and its threat of nuclear war, and they are becoming receptive to the idea that we need a new society, which can only be a socialist society, where the economy will be planned and operated by the working people, not in the interest of profits for a few, but for the use of all. There is a mass political party which on special occasions identifies itself with this new socialist society – the NDP.

Trudeau's talk about the bankruptcy of the free enterprise system and his assault on the trade union movement, is telling the Canadian people that socialism is the issue, and mobilizing the forces that can make it a reality through united anti-capitalist struggle.

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Vancouver Democrat discussion

Why BC NDP lost

By Ross Dowson

What was the cause and what are the lessons of the defeat of the NDP in the recent elections? This is the central theme of the December and January issues of the *Vancouver Democrat*, published by the Vancouver Area Council of the NDP.

The two issues contain reports and evaluations from leading activists in four of the six Vancouver area constituencies. They are serious attempts to analyse what lay behind the election results and to project solutions, by people really involved in the constituencies campaigns.

The issues also contain contributions by the BC NDP provincial secretary, Cliff Scotton, a lengthy and far reaching two installment editorial, several letters to the editor, a post-election statement by the BC Federation of Labor, and an article by candidate Harold Steeves.

Scotton makes the point that, "the defeat of the NDP government was not caused by a shift of support away from our party, but rather by the shattering of the Liberal and Conservative parties" and the polarization of their supporters behind Social Credit. This observation is shared and developed by the editors who note that: "*A world-wide recession, more serious than any since the depression of the thirties, reduced the markets for the lumber and mineral products of BC, while creating a climate of job insecurity and anxiety. The recession is not the fault of BC, even though the business community explained their lack of investment ('capital strike') on the uncertainty caused by the NDP. The Socreds, with the support of the business interests, shifted the blame from a breakdown in the capitalist system to the failure of social democracy... It is one of the ironies of the election that we were blamed for the breakdown of a system that they claimed was much better than socialism. Fear was a significant factor in this election. The fear ws focussed against the NDP...*"

Apart from this shared appreciation of the objective problems, Scotton notes more complacently that "membership continues to climb and the election results have produced a significant surge in new applications". He concludes that "this is not the time for recriminations about the campaign".

It would appear that few of the Vancouver activists are prepared to be silenced by Scotton's "business as usual" line. The *Vancouver Democrat* editors point out that even "if our loss is different than the media makes it, there are still serious problems with the last three years which we must discuss". We are thus presented with a lively and informed discussion of the dynamics and problems faced by the NDP.

From the various constituency reports, it is obvious that there was a big response to the NDP campaign. According to Vancouver-Burrard, it had a problem "employing" the volunteers – by some estimates over 700 people came out to put long hours on dark afternoons and rainy nights. And few, if any want to give up now. And this is the single most encouraging aspect of the entire election".

Hilda Thomas, in her report on the Point Grey campaign, where the party vote increased from 16% to 24.9%, emphasizes the big response there. The main factor that "helped enormously to give us a feeling of confidence and solidarity" was that "many, many people were prepared to devote themselves to the campaign. Along with the activists, members who had been relatively inactive since 1972 took on major jobs. Every day there were new volunteers". It was not the scent of victory that attracted them, since the NDP got only 16% of the vote there in the last election. "They came because in the past three years we have identified with our constituency and they have identified with us".

Another factor Thomas notes, for both herself and co-candidate who are prominent left-wingers: "there was never any question about the right of candidates to respond to controversial issues such as Bill 146, a Woman's Ministry or

context of a basic commitment to party policy", even though there was no consensus with the rest of the campaign committee on several key issues.

Given this, and given the

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important social legislation of immediate benefit to vast numbers of the population such as Cancel, Ocean Falls, ICBC (naturally, no contributor even suggests that the party's program was not sufficiently revolutionary) – why didn't the party actually make substantial inroads into new layers of the population over and above consolidating its 1972 position?

The statement by the editors cuts across the many essentially side issues that have been raised. "We started to lose the 1975 election the day after we assumed office," they declare. "*Why? Because it is the political activity of political parties, and their allies,* between *elections which is the most significant factor in determining the outcome of elections. The Socreds and their corporate friends certainly were not idle during our term in office. They attacked the Land Commission Act, the Mineral Royalties Act, the Insurance Corporation of BC and many other pieces of legislation. But the (NDP) government was slow on the defence and did not count on party members and allies of the party to go out and explain our party policy and actively confront the corporations.*

"*The NDP must re-open the debate on whether or not it is going to be simply an electoral party. We can continue to be a party which does little but run a selected few, or we can be a party which trusts its members to undertake actions on local, provincial and national issues.*

"*A decision to be only an electoral party is based on one or both of these assumptions (1) the present system is fine except for certain minor flaws; (2) the legislature has the power to do anything it wants. Both of these assumptions are false. The social system, built on capitalism, is not simply flawed, it is fundamentally wrong... The whole system, at all levels, and in all aspects of our life, is organized on the basis of the competitive individualism necessary for a marketplace economy. To counter that pervasiveness, we must pursue a direction of continual political education and political action by NDP members.*" The editors show that this was not done. Once elected, "*this government believed in the supremacy of the legislature. It had no need of an active party or trade union movement except at election time. Not defending its interests and educating people as to the real issues of the last three years resulted in a continual back peddling on contentious legislation.*

"*The pattern was set with the weakening of the Land Commission Act and continued with the passive attitude and eventual retreat of the government in the Mineral Royalties Act. It continued by accepting the corporate position in forcing workers back in Bill 146, a Bill that was not neutral but struck a serious blow at the trade union movement... It is interesting to note that this legislation does not seem to have cost us the votes of workers, who remained loyal to the party, but that it confirmed to those who opposed us that big labor, and by implication in the public mind, the NDP, are the cause of the problems.*

"*Because the NDP government chose not to actively involve workers or party members, they were forced to accommodate themselves increasingly to the demands of the right in order to win votes in the middle. The importance of changing the position of women and children as crucial to the accomplishment of socialism in BC was disregarded, thus ignoring party policy and misunderstanding the extent of change that needed to be encouraged. Failure to actively explain their programs, and to win support for NDP policy caused confusion in the population, apathy in the party and distrust among substantial sections of the trade union movement. The failure to unite and educate working people in the ongoing fights with capital meant that Social Credit, who certainly were clear about their class interests, continually fought the government in public rallies with little or no resistance.*"

The editors ask *What is to be done:* And they answer: "If the NDP is going to be the party to achieve socialism, then it will have to create an understanding of socialism in many more people. That means working with other people before and after we form a government and not doing things *for* people once elected."

"The NDP must encourage political debate and discussion at all levels of the party organization, constituency associations, party committees, and area councils must be active in opposing the Social Credit party on a day-to-day basis... if the NDP is to be that political party it must provide leadership and be an active political organization which takes its members seriously as the source of political change."

The discussion is on – but it is not without difficulties. Philip Benson writes that in Vancouver Little Mountain "various personalities have deprived members from receiving the *Vancouver Democrat* for December, and what is sadder, attempted to dissuade members from participating in the Vancouver Area Council."

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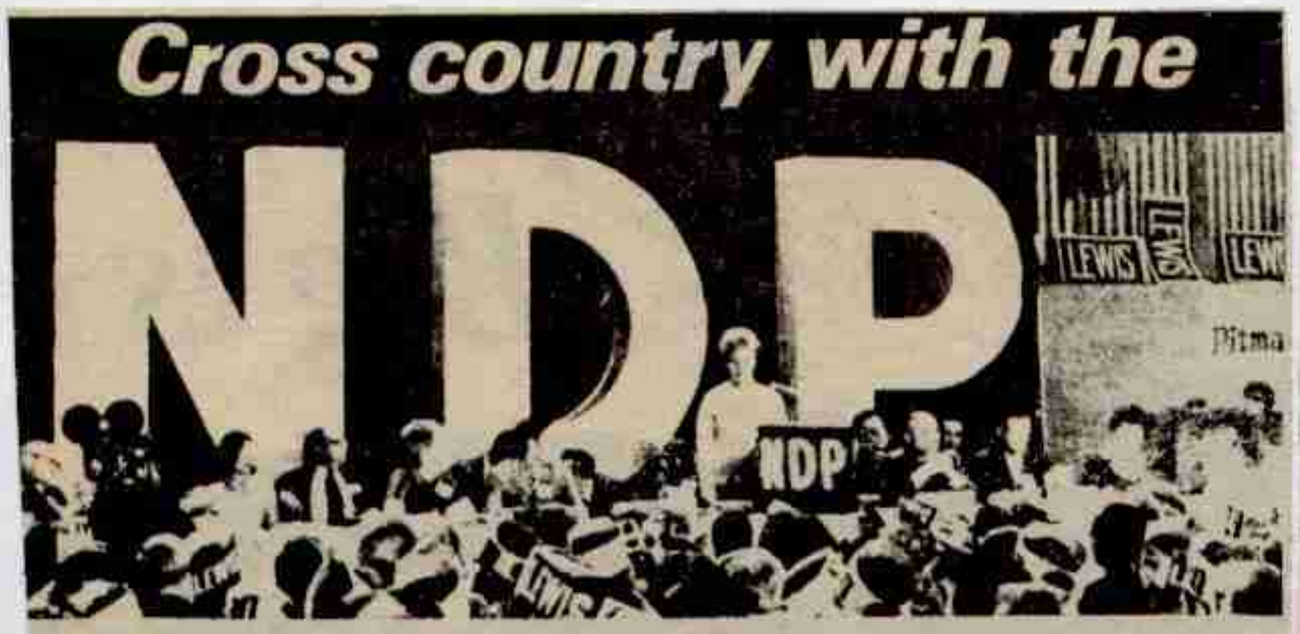
Cross country with the NDP



By Anne Macdonald

Potash lords not beaten

Even though the Saskatchewan NDP government introduced the bill to expropriate the potash companies before Christmas 1975, there are still many hurdles to be overcome. Apart from the incredible harassments and harangues from disturbed federal cabinet ministers, American ambassadors and their aunts and uncles, the provincial Liberals and Conservatives have been working for a month to filibuster the bill from becoming law. As for the potash companies themselves, they are not only continuing to refuse to pay the 30 million dollars they still owe the government in back taxes, they are also threatening to have the sophisticated mining machinery patented and leased from foreign owned masters removed from the province.

For the Saskatchewan NDP, this experience is proving to be the most profound confrontation with the realities of big business power since the epochal struggle for medicare, when they faced the tooth and nail opposition of the medical establishment. For the Blakeney government, which has generally kept away from such momentous confrontations, it must be a bit staggering. Blakeney seems to be backing down under the pressure, changing the government's pledge to acquire half to all of the industry to acquiring only "50% or thereabouts" depending largely on the compensation price arbitrated in the first expropriation case.

It is clearly essential, if the government is to hold to its pledges to NDP conventions and the public, that a mass popular campaign be developed to back up the NDP position against the arrogant resistance of the potash lords and their agents.

Socreds cut NDP gains

The Social Credit government in BC has barely taken over and the roll-back of programs from the preceding NDP labor government is starting. The first ones to be affected are the ICBC, (the Insurance Corporation of British Columbia), the Mine Royalties and of course the NDP Status of Women office.

The ICBC, which took car insurance out of the hands of the profiteering private insurance companies, is allegedly deeply in the red. This is mainly because the NDP government had not transferred the gas tax and license fee revenues as had been budgeted initially.

Pat McGreer, the minister responsible for the ICBC said: "There will be no political interference with the company's operation." (as was presumably the case under the NDP government). He stated the new cabinet would be taking a major interest in the ICBC in only two aspects in the coming year: "The government will appoint an enlarged board of directors made up of outstanding BC businessmen knowledgeable in the insurance field with responsibility for efficiency and setting policy for the ICBC"; and that the cabinet will be involved some months from now in deciding how private auto insurance companies will be invited back into BC to compete with the ICBC. The Socred government's proposal to hike insurance rates 100% to 200% will certainly ensure that.

The NDP-instituted mining royalties based on the value of minerals produced are also to be scrapped. Instead there will be a tax based on the profits at a still undefined rate. To deduce from the soaring stocks of BC based corporations, companies seem to have little concern about that tax.

Although the Status of Women Office of the NDP government was a far cry from the Women's Ministry as repeatedly demanded by NDP conventions, the Office had made some serious contributions towards educating and organizing women; and anything which may awake more women into asserting their rights is seen as a threat by a reactionary government such as the Socreds'. Therefore the Women's office had to go, fast.

The credit union participation in the proposed BC Savings and Trust Corporation is also likely to be restricted from the retail level to merely merchant banking. This will effectively stop it from being a non-profit bank for the average consumer.

Crown corporations such as the Ocean Falls paper mill are also threatened by Bennett's announcement that he intended to sell government holdings in many companies. The construction industries are lobbying for changes in the Provincial Public Works Employment Act, restricting government contracts to union shops. They also want a change in the NDP established trend to having government agencies rather than private business do many public projects.

Social Credit leader Bennett's occasionally soothing claims before the election that "there's no basic conflict in social policy between us and the NDP" are proving as false as Barrett's vain hope on election night that the NDP programs would not be tampered with. Maybe even those super-revolutionaries who shouted that the NDP was merely a "bourgeois" government will get a real taste of what a bourgeois government is. But for the working people of BC, we are only beginning to see the harmful impact of the NDP defeat.

Wealthy escape surtax

NDP MP Lorne Nystrom has effectively exposed the government's high-income surtax as fake. This tax was supposed to show workers that high income earners such as their bosses are also asked to tighten their belts to fight inflation.

Nystrom, however, pointed out that someone earning $50,000 will pay an additional $591 in surtax but save $700 as a result of the indexing system introduced in 1973 to offset the impact of inflation on the progressive tax scale. In addition Finance Minister Donald MacDonald revealed that corporations will not be subject to the same surtax, "because in our opinion the cost would just be passed on." Again the low and medium wage earners are expected to hold the bag.

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Oh Canada

by Paul Kane

The struggle for Canadian trade union autonomy took a long stride forward when about 200 delegates from 15 building trades unions from across Canada met in Winnipeg on the January 17th weekend. They voted to establish a National Building and Construction Trades Council.

The officers of the Canadian advisory board, paid by and beholden to the Washington-based AFL-CIO building trades department, boycotted the conference after having failed in their campaign to block it by instructing locals not to attend and even announcing the cancellation of the meeting. It was the US top brass and these same appointees who attempted to bankrupt the Canadian Congress of Labor by withholding all dues payments, following the 1974 congress decision to enforce its guidelines on Canadian autonomy.

The newly formed council will coordinate building trades union positions on legislative matters, building codes, labor legislation, and possibly uniform bargaining. The conference adopted a constitution, established affiliation fees and issued a call for another conference for May 1976 in Quebec. Locals that failed to send representatives to the Winnipeg conference will be invited to attend.

The Winnipeg conference had the support of, among others, the Ontario Building Trades Council and top officers of the Toronto Building Trades Council. The AFL-CIO building trades department will be meeting in Miami on February 9 where it will have to consider whether or not to attempt to sustain its previous operations and appointees, or adjust to the new situation. Either way the National Building and Construction Trades Council is a reality.

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Could it have been expected that Trudeau would respond in any other way than he did, that he felt compelled to say that the US ambassador Porter had "gone beyond the acceptable bounds within which an ambassador should stay," and that after all "we are not a colony of the United States." No US ambassador in a colony would dare conduct himself publicly as did Porter in Ottawa. Trudeau could not possibly have done less.

As a senior US diplomat, between a posting in Saigon and one in Saudi Arabia, Porter called together a coterie of the country's top newspapermen for a friendly farewell drink and some man-to-man talk. It turned out the soiree had been cleared by the State Department. He himself permitted his listeners to make whatever use of what went on as they saw fit.

He zeroed in on: Saskatchewan's moves to take over the provinces' potash reserves, now owned by US corporations which have been refusing to comply to tax regulations; on Ottawa's fainthearted moves to withdraw the special privileges that *Time* and *Readers Digest* have over all other foreign-owned publications; on the feeble protests against the powerful US TV border networks, siphoning revenue from the Canadian market; and on Ottawa's strictly tokenist foreign review legislation. He presented US imperialism's case on what the editors of the authoritative *New York Times* characterized as "problems (that) contain potentials for worsening Canadian-American relations" and which "are reflections of growing economic nationalism in Canada."

Certainly Porter's soirée with the media was a startling innovation. Even more surprising was the State Department's failure to take advantage of Trudeau's gesture, which would have allowed them to attribute it to an ill considered action by the ambassador. Porter used a subsequent session of the Senate Committee on foreign relations whose chairman slightingly referred to relations between Ottawa as "those dominions or states or whatever you want to all them," to declare that he got his orders for the Ottawa soiree from the deputy secretary of state himself.

What was notable was the response of important sectors of the Canadian establishment: "you are anti-American, that's what's wrong with you!" shouted Tory MP Cossit across the house at Trudeau. The *Toronto Star*, which lists as an editor the sometimes frank and outspoken bourgeois nationalist Walter Gordon, handled it in a most cool and circumspect way. Canada's only national paper the *Globe and Mail* scored, not Porter, but Trudeau, for his "stunning brutality... wildly intemperate language... gross boorishness."

The New York Times took comfort in the pitiful servility of Canada's ruling class, noting that "Several prominent newspapers took Mr. Porter's side in the controversy and criticized Mr. Trudeau in editorials and columns today."

●

The US retail giant tightens its stranglehold over Canadian consumers. Some 9,000 workers suddenly lost their jobs when the heads of The T. Eaton Company announced their decision to close down their mail order department.

Its officials gave no previous hint of their definitive decision, although they did reveal that over the last several years the operation had sustained heavy losses and it was known that efforts to link up with another giant US merchant house had failed.

The mail order sector of this merchant family's giant holdings was cut off because of its professed inability to compete with Simpson's, since the latter had linked its mail order business to the US giant Sears Roebuck to form Simpson-Sears.

How many thousands of workers' lives will be affected by the anarchy and waste perpetrated by the struggles between such giant capitalist corporations, and now the increased domination of Simpsons-Sears, cannot be estimated

Four giant US-owned or controlled gas companies have tied up 5 trillion to 17 trillion cubic feet of the natural gas in the Mackenzie delta with the intention of exporting it to the western and north central United States. This amount is four times the latest estimates of proven gas reserves, that is, reserves that can be produced now if the proposed Mackenzie River Valley gas pipeline is built.

While Canadian Arctic Gas Pipeline Ltd. contends that its northern line is urgently needed to bring the delta gas to Canadian markets, so far only one Canadian company, Trans Canada Pipeline Ltd., has been able to contract for any of the gas expected to be produced there. The four US companies have tied up the Canadian reserves by providing the three major oil producers there – Imperial, Gulf and Shell – with about 100 million dollars in interest free advances.

This data was revealed in the course of investigations of a National Energy Board lawyer. We are unable to report as to any findings under the Foreign Investment Review Act on whether this situation meets its criterion of providing "significant benefit to Canada."

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Nothing for social services, but:

There are always $$$ for war

By Ross Dowson

The working people of Canada are confronted by ever widening and increasingly more ruthless attacks on the entire spectrum of social services that they have wrung from the employers and their political stooges over years of hard fought struggles. Where one is out of office and the other in, the Liberals and Tories attempt to surpass one another with cutback proposals which they claim are necessary to roll back inflation.

But there is one area – the military budget and Canadian commitment to NATO -- NORAD where their generosity with public funds knows no bounds, where the one attempts to make the other appear as "a cheap skate", imperiling the security not only of our living standards, but even our lives. It is these mounting military expenditures, it so happens, that can be counted upon to have the greatest possible inflationary impact on the economy -- made, ironically, in a period of drastic decrease in international tensions.

As we entered into the New Year, Ottawa announced that current expenditures on the armed forces will double to about $5 billion in the next fiscal year. While it cynically refused to index mothers' allowance payments from inflationary cuts, regardless of the confidence that it expresses in its own anti-inflationary program, it made this colossal expenditure absolutely inflation proof. Beginning in the 1977 fiscal year, capital expenditures will be permitted to rise up to 12% a year in real terms for the next five years.

For all the government's talk about the increasingly unfavorable balance of trade between Canada and the US and its inflationary impact on Canada, there was one sector where Canada has long had a surplus – from its military spending arrangements with the US, which skyrocketted when Canada was supplying materials to fuel the US military assault on the Vietnamese people. On November 28 that surplus was wiped out and a colossal deficit built up with the long delayed decision to buy 18 Lockheed Orion long range patrol planes at the cost of $950 million.

This decision embarassingly pressed on the government in public by the US Defence Secretary James Schlesinger during an Ottawa visit a few months ago, met Washington's urgings to reduce the US defence deficit, at the same time as it further integrated Canada into the US continental military system which uses the Orion.

Specialists have seriously questioned the military value of this plane which is based on a 23 year old design and is to be used in a World War II role against submarines which are now nuclear equipped to project missiles from points far beyond its range.

Having made that $950 million dollar decision, the federal government bought the Canadair plant in Montreal from General Dynamics for another $38 million, and also announced the financing of 50 DHC-7 Short Take-off and Landing (STOL) planes at the deHavilland Downsview plant which it had purchased in 1974 for $38.8 million.

This decision to finance the DHC-7 immediately came under attack from the Canadian Railway Labor Association (CRLA) as an "appalling mislocation of funds that should have gone instead toward improving and expanding railway passenger service in Canada". The government has been approving the railway corporations' drastic curtailment of passenger services in favor of its more profitable freight services. Costly air travel by STOL has been suggested as a substitute for travel by rail.

The joint railway unions' protest noted that the government admits that it will not recover its investment in the DHC-7 until an incredible number of 2,525 planes are sold. It has already invested 77 million in the DHC-7 program and is prepared to advance another 100 million to finance production of the first 50 planes.

At the same time as they have looted the public treasury for the Orion and the DHC-7, all the time talking about austerity and sacrifice, government officials have committed themselves to other new and incredibly costly projects.

Before making these decisions they suffered, as on November 2, the ignominy of NATO Secretary General Luns publicly asking them why Ottawa relies "so completely on the US defence... Canada is an extremely weak military power." Now they are basking in words of the highest praise from the leaders of this military alliance directed against the USSR and the freedom struggles of the colonial peoples.

Following their annual two day meeting in Brussels last month, this cabal of top militarists took, as a Canadian Press dispatch read, "the unusual step of officially commending Canada for its new defence policy." The ecstatic Canadian Minister of Defence, James Richardson, said that this singling out of Canada for praise "was something that has not happened for many years, perhaps never before."

Richardson told the NATO brass that Canada's expenditures "will have risen from 2.8 billion in 1974-75 to 3.35 billion in 1975-76 and are tentatively estimated to rise to more than 3.75 billion in 1976-77." He assured them that the tank strength of Canada's armoured regiment in Germany will be increased from two to three squadrons with a total of 57 gun tanks and eight specialist tanks, "thus giving us the equipment in Europe to field a full brigade group." The decision whether to pour additional millions into refurbishing the Centurion or to buy up Leopard tanks from West Germany, he assured them, would be made in "a matter of months – certainly before the summer."

Richardson boasted before a Brussels press conference that "in absolute terms Canada's defence

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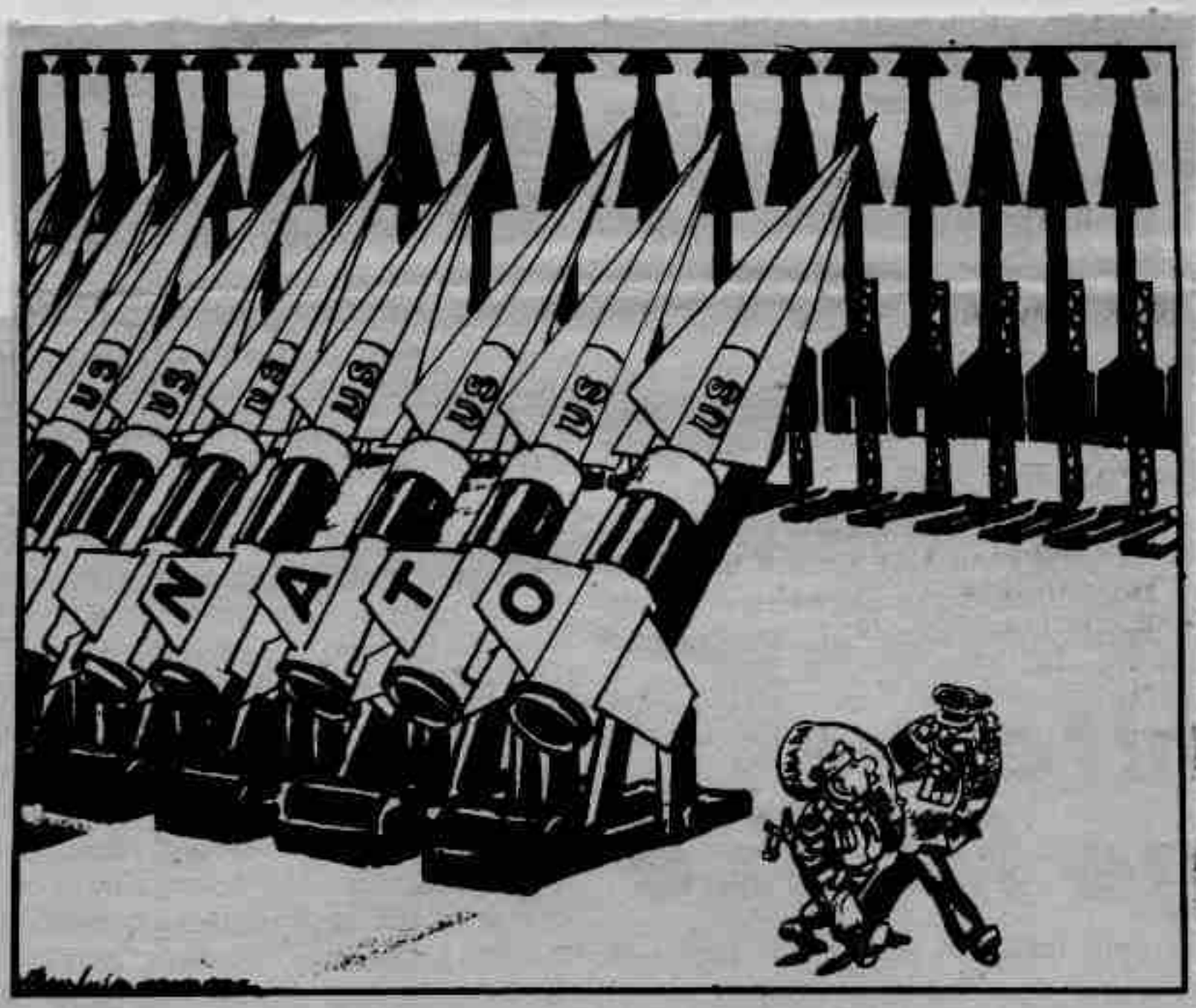

"You realize, of course, that you are upsetting the balance of power"

budget is now larger than most NATO members." Heretofore Canada's NATO contribution has been ridiculed by NATO officials and others for being the smallest, as a percentage of gross national product and per capita income, except for tiny Luxembourg's, an argument that the government itself used to justify its increased expenditures. Now Richardson declared, only the US, France, West Germany and Italy are doing better.

This argument, that Ottawa's contribution until now made it the "cheap skate" in NATO, has served as an excuse for some who claim to oppose Canada's support of NATO even as they go along with it, has been torn to shreds by no less a person than Dr. J.E. Keyston. Keyston, who opposes the government's enlarged NATO commitment, is the former Director of Armaments of NATO in Brussels and former vice-chairman of the Defence Research Board in Ottawa, now retired.

Keyston ridicules the use of data that shows Portugal leading all NATO members with 6.8% of its GNP, followed by the US, then the United Kingdom, Greece, Turkey, to Canada, ranking between Denmark and Luxembourg. He notes that these expenditures "are dictated... by special national circumstances." In the case of Portugal these special circumstances are its ruling class' attempts to hold onto its colonies which working class struggles in Portugal itself, along with the successes of the revolutionary struggles in Angola, etc., have now made no longer possible. In the case of Britain, its commitments have been in large part determined by its attempt to sustain its imperialist interests – including Northern Ireland; with Greece, by the requirements of the military regime that has been imposed there.

As a militarist, and within the framework of his continued support of NATO, Dr. Keyston points to the totally different circumstances confronting Denmark, whose low expenditure "reflects the defensive helplessness of a small nation close to the Iron Curtain", and to the totally different circumstances confronting Canada. Canada, he notes is "far less exposed than they are to the threat of military attack, if indeed we are threatened at all."

Canada's increasing military commitments, coming at a time when most members of the NATO alliance are cutting back, particularly Turkey, Greece, Portugal and the UK are more important to the US, the dominant and determining force in NATO, from a propaganda point of view than from their actual physical scope. Canada's new commitments will be used in an attempt to stall the degenerative process threatening NATO, and increase pressure on its components. Canada's new posture shows it more than ever to be a satellite of the US and its imperialist objectives – not only in NATO but in the UN and all the institutions of international diplomacy.

Keyston's concern is that Canada's increasing military commitments to NATO "could hazard the prospect of our continuing to be the one NATO nation acceptable to the United Nations as participant in UN peacekeeping missions outside Europe." He urges Ottawa to consider "a reduction of the number of our current military commitments by resolute application of the priorities appropriate to the prospective military threat... The economic situation should," he urges, "provide government with all the motivation needed to take such action."

At a meeting of the House of Commons defence committee where, Richardson motivated the increased military expenditures with the allegation that the Warsaw Pact nations are building up an alarming military capability which must be more than outmatched. NDP foreign affairs critic Andrew Brewin ridiculed the threat of attacks on North America as illusory.

The NDP is committed to Canada's withdrawal from NATO and NORAD. It is time for the NDP M.P.s and provincial governments to vote against and to launch a public campaign against Ottawa's military budget and the increased taxes and inflationary price hoists that go with it.

Such a campaign, demanding Canadian withdrawal from NATO-NORAD and an end to inflationary military expenditures, would help to further expose the government's anti-inflation guidelines for the fraud that they are, and would give depth and scope to organized labor's campaign to defeat the wage freeze.

forward

Vol. 2 No. 3 – Feb. 1976

02_01-6

Union fights US bid

While the formal decision has been deferred until next month, the Trudeau government will give the go-ahead to another US corporate giant's takeover of another Canadian industrial operation, according to latest reports. This time it is the Westinghouse appliance division in Hamilton, which employs some 2,300 workers.

White Consolidated Industries Inc. of Cleveland recently bought out Westinghouse' appliance operations. Under Ottawa's Foreign Investment Review legislation, it is required to get approval for its takeover of the Hamilton interests before integrating them into its Canadian branch plant operation – WCI Canada Limited of Guelph.

Canadian capitalists, who own General Steelwares, saw the opportunity to block WCI Canada from developing into a more powerful competitor. They also saw the opportunity to transform their operations from the largest of the six major appliance companies in Canada into the preeminent position. GSW made a bid to Ottawa to allow GSW to force White to allow it to take over the Hamilton plant. It locked into its offer the right to use the Westinghouse trademark. Leaders of the Ontario Tory government made it known that they favored GSW.

This caused considerable difficulty for the Foreign Investment Review Agency – set up by Ottawa in response to widespread popular opposition to the continuing US corporate takeover of the Canadian economy – whose record however has shown it to be completely tokenist. Last August, FIRA turned down the bid White made through its subsidiary. This allowed it to stall for time, and White to make some adjustments in its offer. The reason given by FIRA officials for their rejection was that White did not include strong enough assurances about job security and the future of the Westinghouse plants.

On January 12 the workers at the Hamilton plant, organized under the United Electrical Workers Union of America, voted to support the GSW application before the Foreign Investments Review Agency. The leadership reported that the union had received in writing from GSW assurances that it would guarantee income and job security to the employees and that it would continue to honor the present collective agreement as well as the results of the upcoming negotiations

GSW also said it would reduce and possibly eliminate components from foreign sources in view of the fact that it was interested in manufacturing them in its Canadian plants, and that it would maintain full employment – with the rider "subject to market conditions." The union leadership reported that it had been unable to get such commitments from White's subsidiary — WCI (Canada).

The UE leadership stated that its recommendation was consistent with its longstanding position that control of major Canadian industry should be in Canadian hands – a sentiment that has been bolstered by the experiences of Canadian workers who have seen the closure of many plants following their acquisition by U S corporations.

The government's decision to now underwrite White's takeover will continue the process that the Canadian ruling class as a whole has been shown to favor furthering its interests – the process of continental integration. This decision will also further popularize the concept of an independent Canada which can only be a Canada whose industrial plant is owned and controlled by its working people — a socialist Canada.

by P. Kent

Vol. 2 No 4 - March 1976

Labor defies wage freeze

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 2 No. 4 March 1976 Toronto 20¢ Cents

CLC leaders call for March 22 mass mobilization in Ottawa

By the Editors

The mighty forces of organized labor are beginning to move into action against the wage freeze engineered by the federal government and which various provincial governments have opted into.

Contrary to Big Business and government anticipation that labor's opposition would dissipate, its voice has become increasingly more militant.

Although opposing the government act from the very beginning the labor leadership has been provoked by a whole rash of Anti-Inflation Board rulings that are obvious and totally shameless in their class bias.

On the one hand, while the Board has all along refused to do anything about prices that are continuing to rise, it has now dropped its previously declared plans to limit profits made by business through sales on the world market. Ironically, one of the key arguments used to justify the wage freeze is that wages being paid Canadian workers are pricing Canadian goods out of the export market. But on February 27 the government acquiesced to Big Business pressure by dumping its planned profit controlling export tax. The release of AIB guidelines for the banks was greeted by Bay Street's *Financial Post* on February 28, with the words: "As bank stock prices rose early this week it seemed as though the market was heaving a sigh of relief. Much of the uncertainty about bank guidelines was over and the price-profit rules would be less restrictive than some had feared."

On the other hand the board has ordered one after another rollback of wage settlements won by labor in its attempt to catch up with inflation.

With the AIB administrator's instruction to Irving Pulp and Paper to roll its 23.8 percent settlement with the Canadian Paperworkers Union back under the 14 percent ceiling, Steelworkers director Bill Mahoney denounced it "as a declaration of war on the trade union movement," as, "all out confrontation."

"If our 180,000 members don't want fascism to take over," he declared, "they're going to have to confront Trudeau. We may have to shut some industries down," he warned.

"I don't like political strikes, I've never liked them," he said, "but Trudeau may find out that he can't run the country without steelworkers and miners and I am saying this after considered judgement of the situation. If they (the government) want confrontation they can have it."

Such words have been echoed and amplified by dozens of trade union leaders at conventions, seminars and public meetings across the country. CPU leader and executive Vice-president Julien Major, addressing the annual Western region convention of the International Woodworkers, urged all locals to refuse to sign any agreement that contains a clause requiring that the contract be subject to approval or review of the AIB, that all agreements should require the employer to commit himself to support all provisions and that he agree to implement the agreement immediately, including those sections which he believes, or the AIB rules, exceed the guidelines.

In a speech in London where she demanded the government withdraw the legislation in its entirety CLC executive vice president Shirley Carr noted that "for all intents and purposes unions no longer have the right to bargain collectively." She denounced the situation whereby the interests of corporate power have become identified by the government (allegedly the expression of public will) as the national interest. "The public will and the corporate will have merged to establish the preconditions of the corporate state," she warned.

Faced by an AIB order to roll back a wage increase won after a 20 day strike by its 400 members at the

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Program for labor action against freeze

- For the establishment of a CLC anti-wage freeze fund that will be made available to union locals which are without sufficient physical and financial resources to hold out against employers who, hiding behind the AIB guidelines, are resisting labor's legitimate wage demands.
- On to the CLC convention at Quebec City, and the working out of a strategy of escalating and widening actions by united labor, including the CNTU and the provincial teachers' organizations, to roll back and smash the wage freeze.
- For the establishment of consumers, trade union and farm organizations committees on prices. Survey prices, expose their manipulation and fraud. Open the books of the giant food chains whose monopolistic practices even the government's own Food Prices Review Board concedes are forcing consumers to pay four percent too much for food.
- Fight Ottawa's projected hoist of the price of Canadian oil and gasoline into line with the world price established against the peoples of the world by the profit-gorged international oil cartel. For public ownership of Canadian oil resources and development facilities and the production and distribution of oil and gas at cost.
- For a massive campaign to popularize and win the public ownership and control of all banks and credit institutions in the country. The built-in, planned and permanent inflation now confronting us is designed by the capitalists and their advisors to preserve their profits and impose the cost of the developing crisis of their bankrupt system on the backs of the working people. The public ownership and control of the banks and credit institutions is a necessary condition towards the organization and planning of the economy so that it serves not the privileges of a few but the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people.
- Initiate, build and support coalitions to fight against the massive assault, promoted by the federal government through the AIB and now taking place from all levels of government, on such hard won social services as education grants, unemployment insurance, medical and hospital services, day care, welfare, etc. If there are to be cutbacks let them be against the continually mounting federal budgetary expenditures on armed forces and military hardware, on the RCMP, and such undemocratic institutions as the Senate.

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Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Confront the freeze

University of Toronto library, CUPE has launched the first formal challenge against the board. The AIB rollback is in violation of its own assurance that workers making less than $3.50 an hour would be exempt from its guidelines. CUPE is appealing to a provincial labor department arbitrator.

The Ontario teachers, stalemated in Toronto, and faced with several wage rollback orders elsewhere, are challenging the Ontario government in court. They are arguing that the Order in Council by which the Tory cabinet placed the public sector workers under the federal board, is unconstitutional, as it was not presented to nor approved by the provincial legislature.

And organized labor is moving from militant talk and legal argument on to direct action.

On February 2 the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor organized what according to SFL President Semeniuk was "the largest ever" rally by labor. It was a provincewide protest that drew 37 busloads of demonstrators from most of the major centres in the province to Regina. It assembled at the Regina Exhibition Auditorium, cavalcaded to the legislature where the workers' proclamation was fixed to the doors, and cavalcaded back two miles to a windup session at the auditorium.

The Saskatchewan action was preceded by a special Manitoba Federation of Labor one day anti-controls conference in Winnipeg. A delegation of 400 marched on the legislature to confront Premier Schreyer.

But even more significant was the halfday common front walkout of some 100,000 workers on Feb. 26. Organized under the three centrales in the Montreal area they were protesting the stall in the Bourassa government contract talks with its 260,000 public employees who are under the federal guidelines. Early in March some 700 of the front's co-ordinators will be meeting to discuss this dress rehearsal for future and more massive action. Preparations are underway for a struggle that would even eclipse the strike of 4 years ago involving 210,000 workers and extending over 11 days – the most powerful strike in the country's history.

In union circles from coast to coast, the concept of mass actions to demonstrate working class opposition to the government and to demonstrate to unorganized workers and the public at large their common interests, is taking firm root. Even the idea of a general strike to cripple the economy and stop the government in its tracks, heretofore unthinkable to many, is now being openly discussed and advocated.

The immediate challenge ahead is March 22 in Ottawa itself when the CLC officers present their annual brief to the government. A massive mobilization of labor's forces, with significant representation from across Canada would serve as a powerful jumping off point to the CLC convention in Quebec this coming May.

There the delegates of the over 2-million strong rank and file CLC, with specially invited representation from the CNTU and the teachers' provincial federations, can hammer out a strategy of escalating and widening actions that not only can smash the wage freeze but even open up new horizons for the working class.

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Trudeau Digest-ed by US corporate power

By Ross Dowson

Time (Canada) is dead! Its rented typewriters are being turned in, its handful of editorial and office staff is being reassigned, and with the last week of February edition, what it has been passing off as Canadian news coverage will be distilled down from six pages to what the editors of the regular US edition consider to be newsworthy for their readers in the US, Canada, and elsewhere. But *Readers Digest* (Canada) lives!

So ends Ottawa's latest foray with US Big Business and its Washington State Department, which in the words of Secretary of State Faulkner involved "defence of the (Canadian) nation's integrity." The result is a saw-off. And that would be the best possible interpretation, for to be sure, from its well-established bridgehead in Canada — Time Marches On.

After decades of Liberal and Tory government agonizing over the humiliating status of honorary Canadian citizenship that they had been driven into conceding *Time* and *Readers Digest*, Trudeau promised in the 1974 election campaign that if re-elected he would terminate it. Well over a year ago, after refusing to receive a delegation of the Independent Publishers Association with a brief they had entitled Doomsday Cry, and with the announcement by the editors of the demise of the venerable *Saturday Night* ringing in their ears, the cabinet declared that it was going to cross the Rubicon, it was going to bite the bullet.

Through its Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner it announced that it was submitting legislation that would end the special status, the 100 per cent tax write-off granted to advertisers in *Time* and *Readers Digest* which allowed these notorious propaganda instruments of the American capitalist-imperialist way of life to grab up the cream of Canadian advertising revenue, which under capitalism is the very life blood of any mass circulation publication.

In his announcement of the Liberal government's decision Secretary of State Faulkner said that "in taking these steps we in the government are not really so much concerned with certain of the nation's industries as we are deeply committed to the nation's integrity. What happens in the area of Canadian books, magazines and broadcasting, as in other areas of Canadian cultural expression, is not a matter of marginal interest or importance. The strength, originality and vision we find therein is the true-measure of what constitutes our national life."

In the course of the ensuing year, right up until the passing of the legislation which has now only to go through a few more perfunctory stages to become law, we witnessed a furious, even hysterical, opposition campaign in many sectors of the mass media.

The moves to apply the same rules to *Time* and *Readers Digest*, that have been operative on every other foreign publication were transformed by sleight-of-hand into their opposite, into harassment and persecution of *Time* and *Readers Digest*, into a violation of editorial democracy and free speech, and what is more, outright abrogation of freedom of choice for the public.

The number of briefs, visits, lawyers, officials and employees associated with the campaign by *Readers Digest* caused a Liberal party backbencher to protest against the "US style presentation" which caused him to "half expect Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to walk into the room." The editors of

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Publicist and civil libertarian Pierre Berton and author Margaret Laurence in front of Cole's bookstore in the Ottawa Mall. The Writers' Union organized the picket against the dumping of US over-runs on the Canadian market which cheat Canadian writers of their royalties.

the *Globe and Mail* condemned the government as not enacting legislation but carrying out "a lynching." Southam Press journals carried editorials to the effect that the government's policy was to do *Time* in — put it out of business.

The power of this campaign, combined with the schizophrenic character of the top circles of Canada's corporate elite who see no future for themselves without adaptation to the requirements of their much more powerful counterparts to the south, not only found the Progressive Conservative party solidly lined up against the legislation, along with the infamous independent Leonard Jones and the ultra right Social Credit caucus. It cut into the Liberal party caucus itself.

There is little doubt that the Liberal cabinet's retreat in the case of *Readers Digest* was dictated by the impact of this campaign on its own ranks. Even when it came to the vote, six Liberals, including Simma Holt who publicly denounced the legislation as "censorship of state" with the end result "that in the name of nationalism books were burnt and that in the striving for purity of race and nationalism, millions died", stood with the opposition. The NDP MPs voted with the government to pass the legislation 134 to 96.

Under the status of honorary Canadian citizen, *Time* and *Readers Digest* scooped up almost half of all advertising revenue received by the 17 members of the Canadian Magazine Association — in the process eliminating dozens of magazines from the racks.

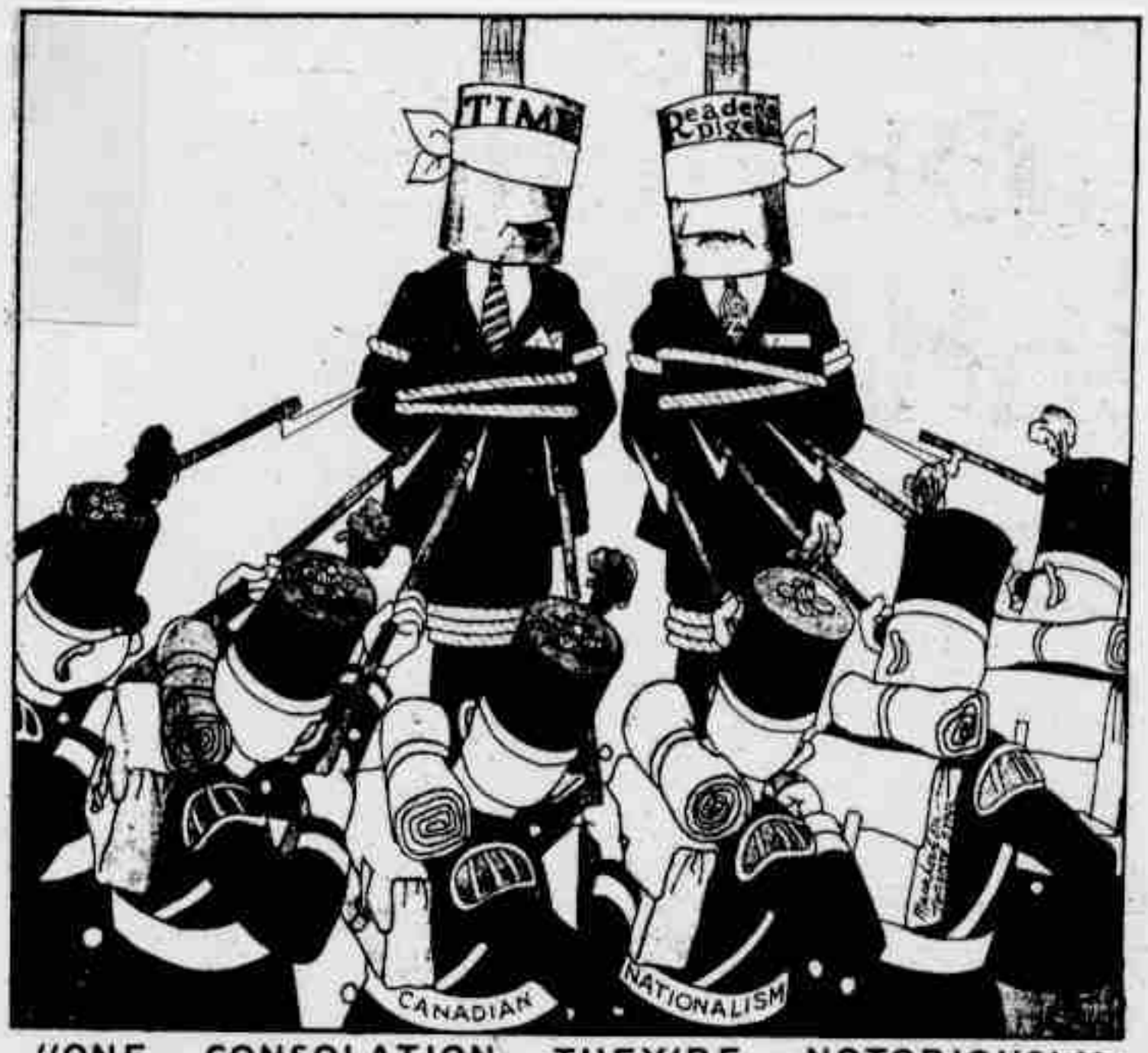
Besides being immensely profitable — in 1974, *Time* repatriated 14 million dollars after taxes to its US owners — their circulation skyrocketted, in the case of *Time* from 215,000 a week to 550,000, in the case of *Readers Digest* from one million a month to over a million and a half.

In the course of its counter attack against the legislation a *Time* official, in an apparent bid for sympathy, speculated that their circulation would fall — to that of *Newsweek's* 47,000 a week. However, they have already announced that armed with their 550,000 bridgehead established under the grandfather clause, they are going to cut their advertising rates by one half in order to hold onto their Canadian advertisers. *Readers Digest's* position was assured by the promise that articles fed into the Canadian edition will be edited and condensed in Canada.

Thus the effect of this legislation, which also denies Canadian advertisers utilizing US border TV stations which beam into Canada to claim 100% income tax deduction, will be of a limited character.

It will allow the establishment of a few more Canadian TV stations which will employ a modest staff and open up the situation for Canadian talent, just as some Canadian magazines may now be able to survive and some new ones even enter the arena, also providing an opportunity for the development of Canadian writers, artists and technicians.

Such gains, though modest, are not to be dismissed. But above all, this legislation is testimony to the developing power of the new Canadian nationalism, that has forced the Liberal government, whose fear and trembling shows its incapacity to lead such a struggle, to make a token stand against the US imperialist colossus, and to nationalism's essentially anti-capitalist thrust.



"ONE CONSOLATION — THEY'RE NOTORIOUSLY BAD SHOTS"

An October 11, 1974 cartoon commentary on the Trudeau government's "death sentence" on Time and Readers Digest.

FORWARD FORUM

International Unions and the Canadian Left

a Marxist analysis of the development of trade unions in Canada.

speaker: **Norman Penner**
lecturer in political science at Glendon College, University of Toronto, editor of the book *Winnipeg, 1919*, the strikers' own history of the Winnipeg General Strike.

Friday March 19
52 Bloor St., W. Room n204
for further information on the Forward Forums, regularly held every Friday night at 53 Gerrard St., W., phone 595-1284

forward Vol. 2 No. 4 - Mar. 1976

03_01-3

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

Leading figures in the fledgling Canadian cinema are demanding an official inquiry into the domination of the industry by the US-controlled Famous Players and Odeon Theatre chains, and eight US-owned distribution firms.

In their application for an inquiry through the Combines Investigation branch of the Consumers Affairs Department, they claim that "Canadian films have not had reasonable access to Canadian theatres owned by the major exhibition chains." The Canadian film industry, despite Ottawa subsidies, is being killed by the practices of the US corporate giants.

The application charges the companies with being "party to a monopoly from at least 1941 to the present," which practices tied selling, exclusive agreements, and refuses to deal with independent film makers.

Among the nine prominent Canadian film makers and commentators are Gordon Pinsent, Alan King, Peter Pearson, chairwoman of the 7,000 member Council of Canadian Filmmakers, Sandra Gathercole, Pierre Berton and Robert Fulford.

According to their application, the US distributors control more than 80% of the total theatrical film

rentals in Canada, and Famous Players, with 360 movie houses, and Odeon with 150, control more than 63% of the $200 million annual gross earnings of the Canadian box office.

* * * *

It has now been formally declared that Canada's world famous Calgary Stampede is an official project of the US Bi-centennial celebrations. Calgary, with its enclave of US oil corporation officials, will now be able to use all the insignia associated with the Buy-centennial hoopla that is being whipped up, ironically, in celebration of the 200th anniversary of the great American Revolution of independence from the British Crown. According to a top Stampede official it is the only event outside of the US, except for one in Berlin, to be given the official designation by Washington officials.

* * * *

Canada is being relegated to "cultural-colony status" due to its artists having to leave the country, to establish themselves, according to Peter Swann. In a talk to the Ottawa Women's Canadian Club, the former director of the Royal Ontario Museum, where he was in many conflits with its august board, projected an Artopia where the ideal board of trustees would include "the young, trade unions, minorities, practising artists and native people."

* * *

Ian Lumsden, editor of *Close the 49th Parallel*, in a review that appears in the November-December issue of *This Magazine*, states that the working people of Canada "must come to grasp the growing contradictions of our dependent integration within American capitalism, even as they see more clearly the exploitative and alienating system of capitalism for what it is. The two strands are so interpenetrated in the Canadian context that they cannot be neatly separated... Capitalism is the enemy... U.S. imperialism is to be stressed and combatted because it accentuates the irrationality of capitalism in Canada. That is what many workers have already begun to sense. What we must do therefore is formulate an expression of nationalism designed to unmask the fullest range of contradictions of capitalism in Canada." This issue, as usual, contains many more articles of value.

This Magazine is available through Forward Books or 56 Esplanade Street East, Toronto. 75 cents per copy or $4.00 per year.

Ihor Broda, who is qualified for admission to the Alberta bar, will not be admitted.

He lost his bid on an appeal to the Supreme Court to practice law in Alberta without swearing allegiance to the English Queen. Broda is a democrat and a republican. But Queen Elizabeth, and not the prime minister or the governor general, is the head of the Canadian state.

forward Vol. 2 No. 4 - March 1976

03-01-4

Warns Gov't against nationalism

By Paul Kane

The Senate, where the sober second thinking in the Canadian capitalist state apparatus is said to take place, has just come up with some thoughts on the question of Canada-US relations.

In a special 90 page report the Senate's foreign affairs committee urges the federal government to keep its cool in the face of both the many provocations by uninhibited US businessmen and statesmen, and the mounting pressure across the country that actions be taken in defence of Canadian sovereignty and against the continuing US corporate takeover of the economy.

"There should be a continual awareness" it warns the Canadian government "of the danger of an over-response to nationalist sentiment in decision-making." Without suggesting just when or where, Ottawa, notorious for its prostration before Washington, has tended to over re-act, it urges it to "ensure that (talks between the two countries) are handled in as balanced and mature a fashion as possible."

The problem, according to the Senate, is one of communications – there is an information gap from the Canadian side. According to the Senate's way of thinking this is because we don't spend enough money to put US statesmen and business heads into the picture – only ten cents per capita compared to a West European equivalent of 63 cents.

The Senators failed to recommend how much more money should be raised and where it should be spent to make US government and corporate heads aware of the Canadian fact. Perhaps it's because US marketing and investment circles, with all their specialists and computers, already know all they want to know about their biggest export and import market and the area of their greatest capital investment.

The recent hearings held by the US ten-man congressional sub committee on Inter American Relationships, specifically designed to hear about Canada's nationalism debate, were eloquent testimony. The first day saw only the committee's chairman in attendance – the second day's hearing was postponed because of the committee's unavailability. Among the special invitees at $35 a day was University of Windsor professor Alex Murray who presented charts to show a falling off of Canadian popular concern and who with a smile told the committee that "Our surveys show that the strongest Canadian nationalist is a single female, under 25, living in BC who votes NDP."

A tiny outburst took place when John Petty, a NY investment broker, formerly assistant secretary of the treasury for international affairs between 1966-72 said "Canada has 75% of the world's water and we're going to need it someday." But chairman Long soothed things over "It's an educational process. We've got to deal with those problems before they reach crisis proportions."

This should end all talk about abolition of the Senate, curb complaints about the cost and usefulness of sending 24 senators and MPs to Florida every year to talk things over with their US counterparts in the Canadian-US Inter-Parliamentary Association, and win solid support, while we all pull in our belts, for President of Treasury Chretien's new budgetary increase to the Senate.

Labor action opposes cuts, controls

UAW head poses mass strike action

forward
Vol.2 No.5
April 1976

Stop the press news — Elliot Lake Ont.

Over 700 uranium miners, members of the Steelworkers' Union, have struck Denison Mines in protest against an AIB wage rollback. This is the first such strike in Canada.

The union had negotiated a 17 percent wage increase with the bosses. The Anti-Inflation Board rolled back the increase to 12.25 percent at the nearby Rio Algom Mine and to 10.9 percent at Denison. Men doing the same job would, if this ruling prevails, receive different wages.

All workers must give 100 percent support to the Denison strikers who are carrying the ball for us in the fight against the wage freeze!

By the Editors

While, as to be expected, the March 22 Ottawa rally did not shame the venal Big Business press into silence, it gave the lie to all its claims that only the top union leadership and the militants – and not the rank and file unionist or the unorganized – are opposed to the federal government's wage freeze.

Given the lead by the CLC executive council's call for a mobilization against a "program unparalleled in its callous and brutal treatment of all who must toil for a living" the ranks demonstrated their readiness for action, particularly around the response to the Autoworkers' train. Hundreds of workers left the shop floors, closing down key production lines in Windsor, Oakville, Oshawa and St. Therese, and causing the demonstration to take on some of the characteristics of a one day work stoppage. The train pulled out of Windsor with more than double the number anticipated and met such a response en route that the three hour delay caused the contingent to almost miss the demonstration. The Quebec contingent, constituting a third or more of the giant throng of 20 to 30,000 made it the most massive united action in Ottawa's history.

In response to jabs by Trudeau about a seeming contradiction in its position, two days later, with a unanimous vote, the CLC executive council withdrew its representatives from both the Economic Council of Canada and the Canadian Labor Relations Council. It thereby ripped off their mask of impartiality and destroyed them.

The demonstration called and now being mobilized by the Ontario Federation of Labor in Toronto for April 28 when it presents its brief to the Ontario Tory government, is certain to be even more massive than Ottawa's.

That the Big Business interests through their Liberal and Tory parties at every level of government have launched a massive assault on the living standards of the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people is becoming ever more clear – even to the hundreds of thousands who up until now have thought themselves to be quite outside of and unaffected by the Anti-Inflation Board regulations.

To the charge that the AIB has blocked and rolled back hundreds of wage increases but has not rolled back one price increase, Board Chairman Jean-Luc Pepin cynically responded that he is looking for business volunteers "whom we can hang up in public and chastise." Finally, on March 27, the AIB presented, with great fanfare, its first corporate victim. Naturally it wasn't the Big Three steel corporations whose price hoists on tin plate, rolled and galvanized sheet products of 6 to 8 per cent will soon be ricocheting in the form of price hoists through every level of the economy. Nor was it Imperial Oil for lifting its price one cent a gallon which will also soon seep into every level of pricing. It was O'Keefe's beer in Quebec – whose price per case was rolled back from 42 to a 22 cent increase.

Hiding behind the massive campaign that has been whipped up against labor's completely defensive efforts to win wage increases, every level of government under control of the Liberal and Tory machines has launched an austerity drive that either wipes out a great many hard-won and essential social services or imposes the cost of sustaining them directly onto those least able to pay for them.

The former president of the Montreal Stock Exchange, and now president of the Provincial Bank of Canada, boasted before the Grocery Products Manufacturers conference this month that ministers no longer have to keep talking about spending money and developing new programs just to keep their popularity: "Now cutting back is popular too."

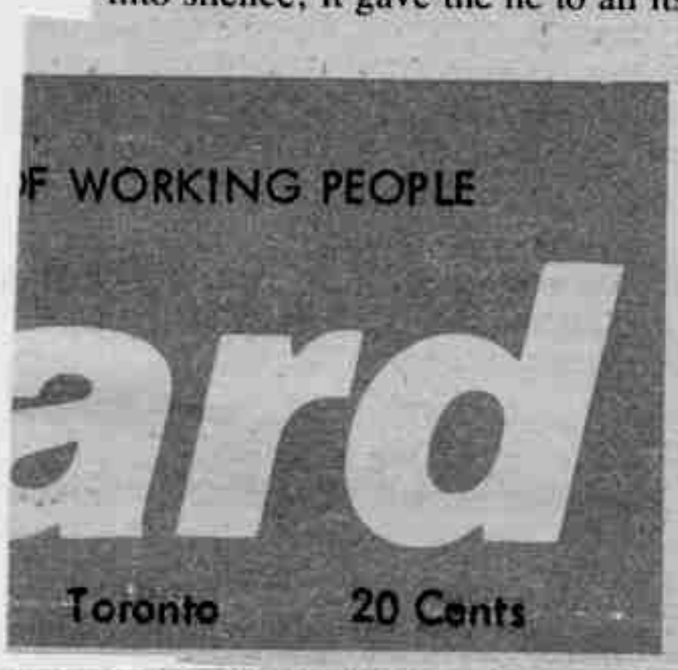
The new Ontario Tory government budget, which the Liberals support in an embarrassing turnabout, hoists taxes on cigarettes, alcoholic beverages and hospital care costs. It also underwrites drastic cutbacks in allocations to lower

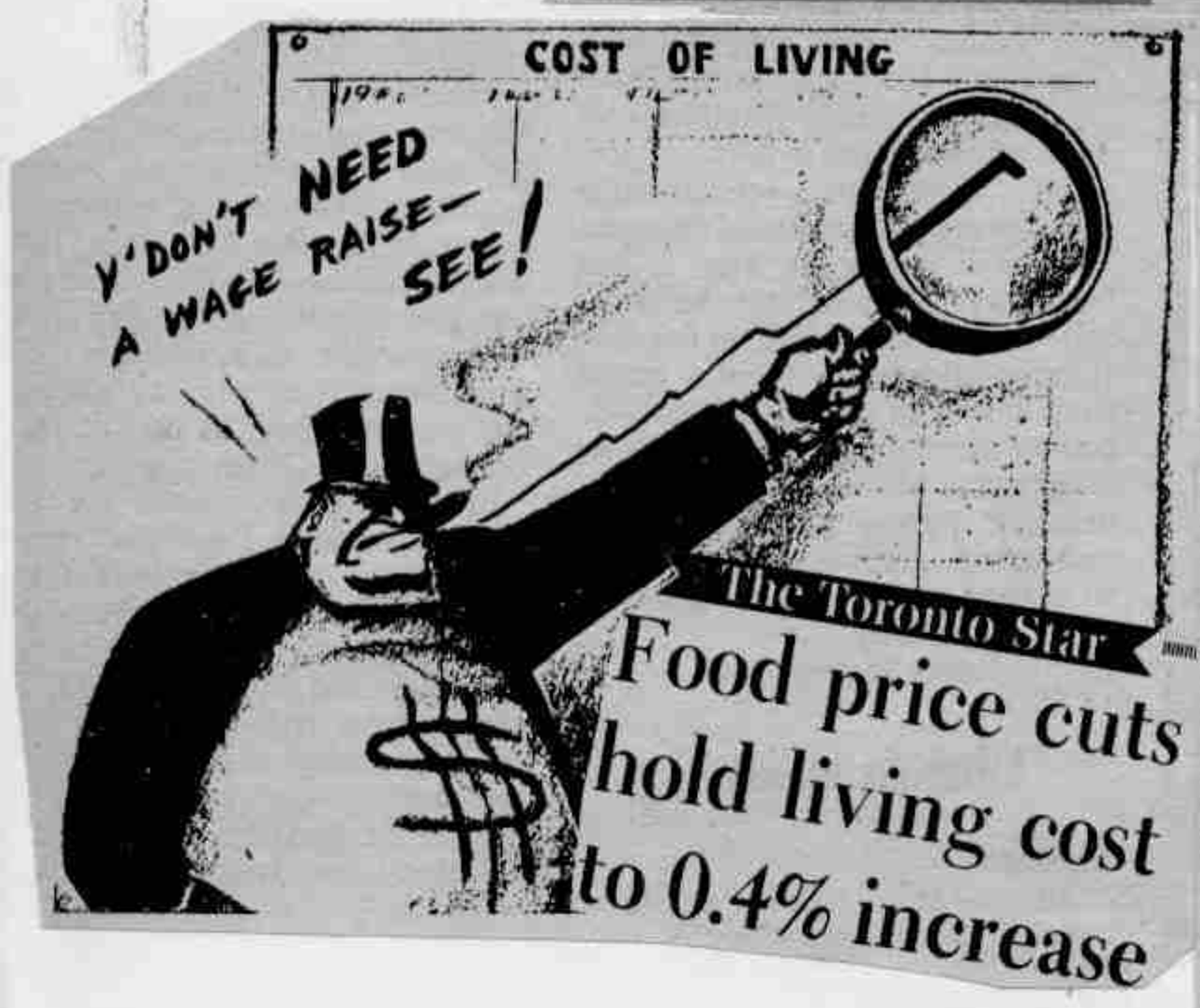
Continued on page 2

Que. Common Front action underway

April 13 – The Bourassa government's attempts to frighten Quebec school teachers into submission have failed. Faced with a union-busting decree that prohibits them from being absent for work or involvement in a slowdown or strike for an 80-day period starting yesterday, or be fined up to $250 a day and their union up to $50,000 a day, the teachers have taken the road of militant defiance.

The Bourassa government which has been pumping millions of dollars into the Olympic Games and such projects as the James Bay Hydro Development justified its long delayed last offer as being restricted by the federal anti-inflation guidelines. With their continuing struggles the Quebec Common Front is now spearheading the Canada-wide struggle to smash the guidelines.





forward Vol.2 No.5 - Apr. 1976

04-01-16

Editor: Wayne Roberts
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Which way for labor?

Continued from page 1

levels of governments which have resulted in Metro Toronto's 750,000 homeowners having to pay a tax increase of 16.3%. Ontario Blue Cross took the green light to announce that its rates for about 550,000, mostly elderly persons, will more than triple.

Added to this is the continuing high level of unemployment. The fact that in Toronto alone 22.9% of the building trades membership of 31,000 workers are out of work will make the Toronto Building Trades Council a powerful contingent in the Toronto April 28 action.

With the highly successful March 22 mobilization, and then the April 28 Toronto mobilization, the whole question of an effective strategy to block the AIB and smash it is posed as the No. 1 challenge before the Quebec City constitutional convention of the over 2 million strong Canadian Labor Congress.

For the first time in its history we are witness to the central body of the organized labor movement giving leadership and direction to a pan-Canadian struggle. That this, long denied as even possible, is now being realized is resulting in a euphoric blindness to some serious problems.

The fact is that despite powerful statements urging irreconcilable opposition and defiance of the AIB guidelines by leaders of many of the strongest CLC affiliates, not one of their locals has succeeded in defeating an AIB ruling. The latest is the national CUPE leadership's inability, despite all its efforts, to block the heads of its key 10,000 member Metro Toronto locals No. 43 and 79 from getting a decisive vote in support of a settlement that is completely within AIB guidelines. The leadership of the UE, long posturing as the vanguard of organized labor, had the humiliating experience of the General Electric local membership voting them down and accepting a guidelines settlement. There is no comfort in noting that as things are now shaping up it would appear that the unions representing 95,000 railways workers, with their leadership's encouragement, will be voting to accept an offer within the guidelines.

This reality has *temporarily limited* the struggle to the plane of cross-union anti-government protest rallies. Hence, to date the struggle has been essentially political, and even though powerful, of a strictly propaganda nature.

Ironically, while the CLC has long endorsed the NDP as its political arm, its leadership has muted the political aspect of the struggle. UAW leader Dennis McDermott has now projected a strategy of struggle that would climax with a general strike that will bring about Trudeau's downfall. How will this much desired objective be realized? With what will the Liberal government be replaced?

Shamefully the CLC executive barred NDP federal leader Broadbent, who has completely underwritten the CLC campaign, from even appearing before and addressing the Ottawa demonstration. Thus, for all its numbers and their high anticipations, the Ottawa action was limited to pressuring the Liberals, supported to the hilt by the Tories, to make some concessions – and not at all clear the way for an NDP government. The fact that Schreyer, head of the Manitoba NDP government, supports the guidelines, and the NDP government in Saskatchewan takes an equivocal position, only points to the need for labor to increase its input into the NDP.

Nothing can get around the fact that this struggle is a political one and can only have as its aim the defeat of the Liberal and Tory governments of big business and the establishment of NDP governments committed to the organized labor movement. This fact must come increasingly to the fore in the struggle.

Secondly – the process of adaptations to the guidelines and capitulation to its rulings must be reversed. One of the key unions, or a strategic bargaining unit of a major union, must be aided by all labor to stand up to the AIB, defy it, defeat it, and in the process defeat the government, so that through a series of such defeats the government can be brought down.

The CLC leadership must present one of the more powerful bargaining units, with the conscious agreement of its membership, as the spearhead of the struggle. At this stage the UAW, which has just opened up negotiations with the Big Three autobosses, could be that choice – around which all labor would unite with all the forces that it can muster.

Canadian labor is in for a difficult and protracted struggle. In its course the forces for general work stoppages will have to be mobilized. Their aim and the aim of all other actions, can only be to establish an NDP government – a labor government in power to mark out a significant advance in this direction is the challenge before the coming CLC convention.

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Forward forums clue in to key socialist issues

By Gord Doctorow

"International Unions and The Canadian Left" was the subject of the March 19 Forward Forum as part of its regular Friday night series. This topic was presented by guest speaker Norman Penner, a Marxist scholar who had participated in the earlier experiences of the labor movement as a socialist activist.

He presented the historical experience of the trade union movement in Canada tracing the roles of various left forces in this experience and critically assessing them from the vantage point of the lessons drawn from Marxist experience. The speaker brought a maturity and depth to the study of the Canadian labor movement that is all too often lacking in the superficial pronunciamentos of the new generation of radicals.

In line with the theoretical and practical questions that are being widely discussed and debated in the various journals of the Canadian left, the Forward Forum series is dealing with the following topics:

— the new and promising development of CLC-supported conferences of organized working women, by socialist activist Judy Brooke.

— an assessment of the developing revolutionary situation in Spain and its consequences for Europe, by Dale Ritch, former president of the York University Students' council and Socialist League executive member

— a report and analysis of the developments in the growing crisis of Maoism in Canada by *Forward* contributing editor Ross Dowson

— a May Day appraisal of the rise of labor struggles against the wage freeze and social service cutbacks in the context of the forward movement of the working class towards a socialist society, by Murray Dowson, a longstanding union activist and member of the Socialist League.

Forward Forums are held regularly every Friday night at 8:00 p.m. in Toronto at 53 Gerrard St. West (at Bay St.). For further information, phone 595-1284.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

US power corporations have worked out deals which permit them to use Canada-based generating stations to burn their high sulphur content coal, polluting the air in Canadian communities – and receive back a clean energy source in the form of electricity.

This fact was affirmed and protested against by Deputy Environment Minister J.B. Seaborn in a letter on behalf of his department to the National Energy Board which is presently holding hearings on Ontario Hydro export applications.

The provincially-owned Ontario Hydro is seeking to renew a license to export "surplus power" to the US, and to triple the maximum amounts allowed for another ten years.

The minister's letter was suppressed by the officials of the National Energy Board. Its existence only came to light during a cross examination of a department official by the Association of Ontario Municipalities. Under the pressure of the Association and U of T's Pollution Probe, the board agreed to give participants in the hearing copies of the letter. But it refused to enter the letter as evidence. The Board also turned down a request from Pollution Probe to subpoena Seaborn to testify.

Pollution Probe is demanding that significantly higher prices be demanded of US power corporations to finance the abatement of the resulting pollution. In its 1973 submission, when it combined against Hydro's application for an expansion of its exports, Pollution Probe calculated that on the basis of a "conservative analysis" the social costs of the pollution would be $8.5 million. The Association of Ontario Municipalities is demanding that exports, which now represent 4% of Hydro's total sales, should bring in higher revenue to cut back the rates that are presently being squeezed out of the Ontario consumer.

●

Meanwhile one of the country's most sought after holders of directorships, Robert Scrivener is being shifted from chairman and chief executive of Bell to take on the same title at Northern Electric, 62% owned by Bell, and now called Northern Telecom. He is replacing John Lobb, who, with his US citizenship, is now moving back south to Nashville to head up Northern's US and European operations. Their ages, 61 and 62 respectively, appear to be no impediment to their finding gainful employment.

●

It looks like the Canada Day parade in North York will be cancelled again this year. Last year's parade was scrapped because it clashed with the shenanigans of the Shriners who invaded Canada to take over the main street of nearby Toronto – a fete that the anti Vietnam war movement was never able to achieve. Parks and Recreation Commissioner Snow reported that there was little "negative reaction" to last year's cancellation and recommended that it be scrapped again this year – because of increasing costs.

●

Trudeau's split decision on the great *Time-Readers Digest* caper failed to gain any support from the 124-member group of smaller Canadian publishers in the Canadian Periodical Publishers Association. The Association scored the federal government's accomodation to *Readers Digest* as frustrating its declared aim of re-directing advertising money from tax-free US publications into Canadian magazines which need the revenue to survive.

●

Struggling Canadian publisher and chairman of the Metro Toronto Library Board, James Lorimer, in an introduction to his company's 1976 catalogue, relates the sorry government record since the US giant McGraw-Hill took over Ryerson Press. After contrasting in detail the government's words to its deeds over the 5 year span, he concludes:

"Meanwhile the position of Canadian publishers does not substantially improve, foreign-owned firms make further inroads and the place of Canadian-authored books in Canada declines steadily as the success of Canadian writers in retail bookstores is more than matched by their losses in educational fields.

"During the five years since the sale of Ryerson Press, people in the book business have learned a lot about dealing with the federal government. They've learned that talk is a substitute for action and that great ideas – in Ottawa's hands – lead to nothing except more great ideas."

With the scrapping of *Time (Canada)'s* office-operation its editor Clell Bryant walked across the street to take up the post of senior editor at *Readers Digest*. Among the features of the March issue is an article by former US Assistant Secretary of State, David Abshire, on "Is the UN Committing Suicide?" condemning the "tyranny of the Third World Majority", along with articles reprimanding the Scots nationalists and the Canadian labor movement.

●

The Few at the Top is getting thicker. Douglas Peacher is stepping down as president of Simpsons-Sears, which now has a clear field in catalogue sales, with Eaton's scrapping its catalogue operations and its employees who are being kept on full pay until May so they silently disappear into the employed and unemployed work force. Peacher is being replaced by former Chicago Sears-Roebuck chief, John Taylor. Sears-Roebuck owns 50% of Simpsons-Sears voting stock.

The same old story in Can's China role

By P. Kent

According to the evidence of one of Canada's senior diplomats, China specialist, Chester Ronning, who should know, the Canadian state's China policy has been and continues to be "made in U.S.A." Only a few years ago the Trudeau government put Ronning at the service of the US State Department as it sought to extricate itself from the disaster of its aggression in Vietnam. From a position of pretended impartiality, as the Canadian government served as powder monkey for the US military machine, Ronning went into Hanoi to open up negotiations.

Ronning told a forum held in Alberta on March 24 on Canadian International Involvement, that as early as 1956 Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, along with the then External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson, visited President Eisenhower in West Virginia to enquire as to how his government felt about Canada recognizing China. Eisenhower threatened US withdrawal from the United Nations, long upheld by the Liberals, and the top NDP leadership too, as a key area for such "Middle Powers" as Canada to feed into international politics in the interests of peace and stability. This caused St. Laurent and Pearson to dump the whole project.

A few years later, in 1958, Ronning told his audience, the then Prime Minister Diefenbaker also sought US State Department instruction on the matter. Upon enquiries by newspapermen following Ronning's revelations, Diefenbaker recalled the incident involving himself, his External Affairs Minister Sidney Smith, and Eisenhower and US State Secretary John Foster Dulles.

Diefenbaker reminisced that both Eisenhower and Dulles were "extremely steadfast in their views of foreign affairs". He passed off as a joke Eisenhower's statement that if Canada recognized China "we'll throw the UN out of New York." The Tory government backed off and Canada did not recognize China until the US found it served its purpose, in 1970.

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1st Trotskyist French daily

By P. Kent

The first issue of the daily *Rouge* came off the press on March 15. This is the first time that the Trotskyist movement in France has been able to put out a daily newspaper.

The authoritative capitalist daily *Le Monde* reported the event under the heading "Rouge Wants to be the Daily of the Whole Far Left."

Plans for the daily got underway almost a year ago. One of the highlights was a two-day festival organized by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) last October which was attended by some 50,000 persons. The initial goal was 2 million francs (US $500,000) which was subsequently raised to 2.4 million francs. A week before publication all but 140,000 francs of the total had been raised by LCR supporters. A modern plant has been set up with all the necessary facilities to put out the daily, including Telex and an Agence France-Presse teletype, reporting news directly into the editorial offices.

Rouge will be competing with several other left dailies. The Communist Party publishes *L'Humanité*, as well as several regional dailies. The Socialist Party and the United Socialist Party only publish weeklies. But the Maoists publish two dailies, even though they are small. More substantial is *Libération*. As a "non-party" paper it reflects the views of elements on the revolutionary left who are opposed to the Leninist concept of party building.

The first press run of *Rouge* was 60,000. It aims to transform its 10,000 circulation as a weekly into a minimum of 15,000 as a daily in the immediate future. It will appear five times a week as a 12 pager and on Saturday as 16 pages. The paper is divided into several different sections: politics. national and international, social, cultural, and "daily life", besides featuring contributions from other political groups in France.

LCR leader Ploech commented on this latter aspect of the paper: "While firmly setting forth our political point of view we will open up our columns to those who do not hold the same kind of revolutionary opinion as we... What is more, the desire for unity on the part of those involved in struggles is becoming stronger and stronger. This is a deeply felt need. As revolutionary crises draw near, sectarian quarrels seem, if not outworn, at least out of date. Debates, polemics, yes... Every organization that identifies with the working class can present its positions in open discussion columns that will be real forums of debate and not cynically laid traps..."

rouge

GISCARD EN MINORITE ABSOLUE

DEHORS!

QUAND LE JUGE EST UN ASSASSIN..

Front page of the first issue of the daily ROUGE.

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Deepening crisis of Br. left clarified by new socialist paper

By Ross Dowson

The ever-widening gap between the British Labor Party and trade union leaderships and the ranks of an increasing number of the British working people, was sharply highlighted last month when 37 members of the Parliamentary Labor Party abstained and thereby defeated the Wilson government in its cut back of public spending plans by more than $5 billion over the next four years.

The 37 members, including five of the national executive committee, two of them former government ministers who had quit earlier over the government's right wing course, later closed ranks against the Tories when the humiliated Harold Wilson called for a vote of confidence. The government was sustained by a 17 vote majority – 297-280.

Wilson's immediate announcement of retirement and his replacement by James Callaghan only further revealed the sharp division over policy in the party. Whatever the conciliationist and equivocal record of Michael Foote, his 137 votes to Callaghan's 176 were a slap in the face to the right wing and signified not only continued opposition in parliament, but that there will be a widening left opposition to the government's "make capitalism work" policies at the expense of the working class.

It is this sharpening challenge to the British working class movement, which has great significance to radicals across the globe, and particularly in those countries where there is a labor party tradition such as Canada, which makes the appearance of *Socialist Action*, added to the ranks of such papers as the *Militant* (British) a very welcome one. To be sure this slim eight-page monthly is a modest contribution but it appears to us from just the first two issues that we have received, to be a very significant one.

The editors call for the unity of the left – of "those seeking an alternative to the reformist policies of the Labor and Communist parties." After noting the considerable growth during the youth radicalization of the late '60's and early '70's in both size and influence of many left groups such as International Socialists and the International Marxist Group, they note the irony in their present fragmentation.

British troops continue to occupy Ireland. The British left has never successfully responded to this blatant colonialism.

While conceding that this fragmentation is related to the decline in the radicalization and the temporary acquiesence to the government's plans on the part of the broader labor movement, the editors see the real cause as being in the left itself – "in its political inability, over the past years, to relate to the complex developments of the class struggle in Britain on the basis of a clear methodology."

They consider that the major weakness of the IS and the IMG was their tendency "to 'adapt' to the moods of the milieu they were working in which explains the often startling shifts in their positions," and notes the IMG's "shift from 'abstention' on the LP in the 1970 election, to one of full support only a few years later."

"Almost all the groups (above all IS) were unable to grasp – 'the complex nature of the present radicalization in Britain' – the significance of the development of the women's liberation movement, the black power movement, or the struggle by the Irish people for their self determination." Elsewhere, *Socialist Action* records a statement by the well-known Irish militant Bernadette Devlin (McAlisky): "Having worked with IS and the IMG the objective test is to ask whether either organization has succeeded in making in any section of the British working class a contribution to any understanding of the Irish problem. The answer is that they have not."

"This constant adaptation to the moods of the different layers they were working with meant that the composition of these groups was never based on a common understanding of the way forward," they state. "While the groups were growing fast the momentum tended to 'hold together' the internal differences – but the moment that momentum slowed up, as at present, these differences burst forth with startling depth."

In order to go forward, the editors urge, it is important to learn from these errors. They reject shotgun unities, such as another group appears to be involved in, as only leading to repeating the mistakes of the past and harbouring future splits.

They call upon the tendencies to first come to grips with the matter of program and the method, which they consider is contained in the Transitional Program outlined by Leon Trotsky back in 1938. Secondly, while urging debates, they consider it necessary to attempt to arrive at unity of action around key issues affecting working people and their allies.

Issue number two highlights the developing campaign against the cuts that the government is implementing against the national health scheme and sets out as the major task – not substitutionist actions by the radicals – but the need to build for demonstrations within the labor movement – "inside trade union and Labor Party branches."

The lead article calls for withdrawal of British troops out of Ireland now.

Among the educational articles is the first of a series dealing with the Labor Party in Perspective which polemicizes against Robin Blackburn. The article warns against seeing only the negative features of the Labor Party represented in the figures of Wilson or Prentice. "The LP symbolized, in its creation, an important step forward in the awareness of millions of workers, an awareness of themselves as a class with distinct interests as a class which had to be fought not only on an industrial but also at a political level."

It opens up a discussion on the question of the new nationalism that has been developing in Scotland and was brought to the fore two months ago by the formation of the Scottish Labor Party. Its two MP initiators have been excommunicated by the UK Labor Party in Scotland – but not driven out of the parliamentary caucus in London as they are crucial to its shaky majority in the Commons.

In the first contribution, a Richard Munro polemicizes against those on the left who see this nationalism that has come to the fore in one of the most advanced and pioneer capitalist economies in the world, as a "threat or a diversion from carry-

→to p. 2

ing forward the class struggle."

The author sees "the resurgence of national identity" as possibly being "trapped behind petty bourgeois parties such as the Scottish National Party which has been cutting drastically into LP support. "only if the labor movement is unable to put forward a concrete class struggle perspective for the national aspirations of large layers of working people."

Munro sees the formation of the SLP, despite its recent attempt to ban left groups, as offering "a potentially fruitful way of posing this alternative perspective..."

Instead of criticizing this growth in 'national identity' the first step by socialists," says Munro, "should be to defend the right of the Scottish people to determine whether or not they want self-determination."

An article on Angola supports the recognition of the MPLA government of Angola. It gives nothing to any concept of a UNITA-FNLA coalition with the MPLA, but sees them as instruments of imperialism, and projects that "an MPLA 'victory' could lead to serious pressures being placed on it which could force it to adopt more 'radical' positions."

Regular readers will note that many of the major problems confronting the British workers and the views of *Socialist Action* on them bear a striking similarity to those expressed by *Forward*. A subscription to *Socialist Action* can be obtained by sending the equivalent of a pound to 1 Pretoria Road, London, S.W. 16, England.

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Forward sets goal: $5500 from readers

by the Editors

Many times over the last two years, you, our readers, have looked to *Forward* for a clear, socialist analysis of events and issues in Canada and international discussions of particular interest. Now, *Forward* is looking to you. We need $5,500 for the coming year of operations. Last year, our fund-raising drive had a goal of $5,000. This year, due to increased operational costs combined with plans to expand our subscription base, we have increased our goal to $5,500.

We know through your letters to the editor and through conversations we have had with many people at the demonstrations and meetings at which we have distributed *Forward* that our paper is both widely read and respected within the Left, the NDP and among students, women and trade unionists.

The coming year will, no doubt, present many unprecedented challenges and opportunities for socialists in Canada. The correctness of our analysis has been borne out by the growing support for the NDP within the Canadian working class and the increasing possibilities of the formation of a left caucus within the NDP. The rise of militancy in the Canadian labor movement in response to the onslaught of the wage control program, the continuing development of the women's movement, and the broad struggle against the cutbacks make it all the more urgent that we be able to present our perspective to these ever-broadening arenas of militance.

We want to continue to provide up-to-date articles that will be clued in to these and other important events and aspects of the Canadian working class. We want to continue to provide you with the highly readable socialist paper we have been able to produce so far. We would also like to expand and improve our paper. To do these things, we need money. If all our readers were to contribute $50 (about $4 a month averaged over a year) or even $25 (about $2 a month), our problem would easily be solved.

Last year, a supporter in St. Catharines raised money and got subscriptions by holding a *Forward* fund-raising party on his own initiative. Hopefully, other readers might try similar activities.

The fund drive will run from April 15 to June 18, 1976. So far, we have raised over $1,000. We are asking you to raise the remaining $4,500. In return, we will match your pledge of money with a pledge of our time and energy. Between now and then, we are asking you to put us over the top so that we may continue *Forward*.

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 2, No. 6 May 1976 Toronto 20 Cents

Miners, technicians hold the AIB at bay

By P. Kent

TV viewers of the second game in the Stanley Cup finals in Montreal on May 11, saw the game alright but without the commercials that pay the government-owned CBC almost a third of a million dollars. Montreal CBC TV employees, members of the tiny 2,700-member National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians (NABET), took labor's battle against the wage freeze and the AIB's provocative rollbacks of negotiated increases to the Canadian public in this powerful and dramatic act of refusing to broadcast the commercials.

The day before, in Vancouver, 100 TV technicians walked off the preparations for TV coverage of the United Nations Habitat conference, scheduled to open amidst great fanfare under the auspices of the federal government on May 31st.

The federal board refused to recognize the union's recently negotiated contract that would raise wages, which range from between $6,000 to $14,000 a year under the old contract, up 15% in the first year of a two-year contract. The board has ruled it will allow no more than 13%.

The NABET members' dramatic actions follow on the heels of the first strike against an AIB rollback.

Some 750 miners at Elliot Lake struck the Denison Mines for a week and a half. They inflicted the first defeat of the AIB. It was forced to revise its original decree rolling a 17% increase back to 10.9% at Denison and 12.3% at Rio Algom, upwards to a reduction of 1.3% at both mines.

Elliott Lake Steelworkers Local 5762

The Elliot Lake miners' strike held back vicious AIB wagecutting.

This partial victory by the members of Local 5762 of the United Steelworkers owes more to the pressure of the mining bosses who feared losing workers to mines in adjoining areas which pay more, and the absurdity of the difference in the proposed rollback in the two adjoining mines performing the same operations, than to anything the rest of the organized labor movement did to help.

Instead of seizing this incident the United Steelworkers leadership demonstrated only anxiety that the strikers should hurriedly return to work. Such a policy is all the more astonishing in light of the fact that the board has also rolled back an agreement reached by 2,795 members of the Thompson local with INCO that would only have given them parity with the Sudbury local.

The militant actions of the Elliot Lake miners, and now the members of NABET in Montreal and Vancouver, show the need for the CLC to develop a serious strategy that can turn back and defeat the wage freeze. A key component in any such strategy would be the mobilization of all-out support to any local that is prepared to combat the AIB's outrageous rollbacks. That is what the delegates to the Alberta Federation of Labor have just called for.

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Defend CLC democracy! Stop constitution change!

By Ross Dowson

While the struggle against the wage freeze and the AIB's provocative rollbacks is uniting Canadian Labor Congress forces as never before, the changes in the constitution proposed by the executive council are a direct threat to that much needed unity.

It is hard to believe that because they have given an unprecedented leadership in this key struggle, the top brass actually anticipates that a majority of the delegates will acquiesce to such proposals that so drastically cut back input from the rank and file upon which the success of the anti-wage freeze struggle so obviously and so totally depends.

As Stelco Local 1005 opposition resolution notes, if passed, henceforth, there will be no resolutions coming from union locals, and the selection of delegates will be at the mercy of the head office of unions.

There is no question that the struggle at the last CLC convention, around the issue of Canadian union autonomy and nationalism, shook the very roots of the old power bloc relationships that had so long served the narrow clique interests and privileges that bureaucrats and their time-servers had structured over the years against rank and file democracy. Developments since then have further undermined the stability and calm necessary for their re-establishment.

CUPE, whose meteoric growth undermining the old machine made it a source of contention in 1974, has now, with almost 200,000 members, surpassed the United Steelworkers as the largest union, with the Public Service Alliance coming third. The Washington office-appointed roadmen of the building trades threatened to split in Vancouver if the autonomy guidelines were enforced. They subsequently attempted to bankrupt the CLC by withholding dues. Since then they have suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the Canadian membership who have set up a Canadian Council. The new autonomous Canadian Chemical Workers Union, headed up by the Washington-fired Canadian staff, is consolidating the Canadian ranks.

Since life itself is sweeping on against it, the constitutional changes are an attempt, by organizational means, to structure in a new stability by shoring up the authority of the head offices of affiliated unions. This attempt to establish a controlled democracy will not go down easily with the militants who will turn out to the Quebec convention, and should be resoundingly defeated now – not put off until a subsequent convention.

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Labor girds to defeat the wage freeze

NDP, strike unity key elements of CLC strategy

forward
Editor: Wayne Roberts
VOL.2 No. 6
MAY 1976

Open letter to CLC delegates

The working people of Canada are in increasing numbers looking to organized labor — the organized and unorganized, the employed and unemployed, the youth – increasing numbers of whom are being barred from the work force, and the aged who are being thrust out of it, women and the foreign born who are the most ruthlessly exploited. There is widening anticipation that something big and important to their lives will come out of this assembly of delegates representing the biggest single organized movement in the entire country and composed of persons who are absolutely essential to its functioning.

Now, some seven months after the Trudeau government imposed its wages and price program, the worst fears of its opponents are being borne out. Those who most needed relief, the chief victims of unemployment and inflation have had their wages frozen as prices continue to mount and unemployment to spread. And under its cover the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit stooges of the corporate elite, who own the vast productive capacity of the country and control its wealth, are attempting to crush out every single aspiration of the working people for a better life. They have launched, from coast to coast and every level of government, a massive program of cutbacks in all the social services that would wipe out the gains from years of hard fought struggles.

At first confused and disoriented by the demagogy about equality of sacrifice, the working class is now preparing to fight back. Trudeau's policies are beginning to unite the people of this country as never before – and to thrust them out into massive struggles that are already taking on epic proportions.

As this congress meets, it is becoming ever more apparent that with Quebec in the lead all Canada is on the verge of a wave of militant struggles not witnessed since the late forties.

Then, Big Business, bloated with war profits and armed with a wage freeze and an array of anti-strike regulations, turned on the untested forces of organized labor to drive them into the ground. In a series of titanic battles, highlighted by the struggles of the lumber workers on the West Coast, the steelworkers in Hamilton and the autoworkers in Windsor, labor drew up out of its ranks sufficient leadership and strength to turn back this assault and even register gains – until the cripppling impact of the cold war and the witchhunt.

The struggles of which we are on the eve promise to pull up new forces

Continued on page 2

Challenges for CLC

Continued from page 1

from the ranks that have the potential, in the process of protracted struggles, of not only enabling the working class to defend itself, but also to take a giant leap forward. A whole new generation, some of them with important experiences in the student struggles of the late '60s, self-confident and with some awareness of the historic and international experiences of their class, are coming to the fore. The next wave of struggles holds the promise of lifting an extensive layer of the working class to a genuine and profound level of class consciousness and the forging of a rooted and powerful movement that can win Canada to socialism.

The central question before the delegates to this convention is the fight against the wage freeze, a struggle that has already got off with an auspicious beginning in the massive protest demonstrations that have taken place this spring in Regina, in Ottawa, in Toronto, and in the ongoing actions in Quebec.

All labor is waiting for a lead from this congress of labor in Quebec City.

The delegates must leave this convention armed with a strategy that will not only widen the forces of protest but which can establish some concrete victories against the AIB, and, in the process, bring down the entire edifice that has been built to sustain it, along with those who constructed it.

With the recent Alberta, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island conventions, all provincial federations have now solidarized themselves with the CLC executive council campaign. Over the last weekend, the delegates to the Ontario CUPE convention, responding to the growing and widening consensus that the struggle should now be raised to a general strike, turned back a motion of support of any action that the CLC deems necessary, to have it specifically call on the congress to prepare a general strike. The 600 delegates, representing almost half the membership of Canada's largest union, gave a rousing ovation to President Grace Hartman when, as a member of the council, she not only expressed confidence that this position would win majority support, but suggested some suitable dates for the one-day strike in the coming fall.

This CLC convention should set the date for the first nationwide general strike against the government in Canadian history.

Whatever the recommendation of the executive council or the decision of the delegates on the question of general strike, the struggle goes on.

An increasing number of locals have demonstrated their will to defy the AIB rulings that are depriving them of negotiated increases. With a backlog of several thousands of contracts for review, a Board decision on any one of them could spark a conflagration. Coming up for scrutiny this summer will be the UAW's contracts with the Big Three autobosses. There is little doubt that the Board would like to block any renewal of the clause that guarantees Canadian wage parity with US autoworkers, particularly if the latter win a substantial wage increase.

Steelworkers Local 5762 at Elliot has shown the way. In the first strike against an AIB ruling it succeeded in calling the Board up to a halt and forced it to back off. Its partial victory owes more to the peculiarities of the situation there than to any support from the Steel leadership or the labor movement in general. But no longer can any local or union be left to its own resources, as has been the situation up until now.

The CLC must do what the recent Alberta convention instructed the Federation of Labor there to do – establish a committee to coordinate negotiations for affiliated unions and to serve as a mobile strike committee to assist striking locals. That every single struggle is the struggle of the whole, must be established as the watchword by this convention.

With the formation of Committees to Counter Restraints, the Ontario Federation of Labor and several Toronto locals have initiated what can become a movement of many thousands who are outside the ranks of organized labor but who want to do battle against the cutbacks. The formation of similar committees across the country will enormously strengthen labor's battle.

This struggle that is now only getting underway is a struggle for political power – who shall rule this country, labor or capital? A general strike in the immediate days ahead, though extremely important, can only be a phase in this struggle. It will not bring the Liberal government down though it could deflect its course and even bring it to a halt.

CLC President Morris' censure of the Schreyer NDP Manitoba government for its shameless identification with the federal government's freeze and the Blakeney NDP Saskatchewan government for its equivocal position was well taken. But since then, the CLC leadership has been without a declared strategy. Reacting as if in a petty pique, the leadership of the forces of organized labor stooped to bar federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent, who has completely identified the federal caucus with labor's cause, from addressing the Ottawa rally. The resolution book that has been circulated to the delegates contains no resolution on political action from the Political Education Committee or any comparable body.

In its absence the officers of the United Electrical Workers have returned to their old tricks of the forties. They have inserted resolution 358 which, fastening on Morris' denunciation of the Schreyer and Blakeney leaderships, would throw out the NDP baby with the dirty water. They project the treacherous concept of non-class anti-monopoly coalition – no matter that there is not the slightest possibility of such a formation.

The CLC leadership are not without responsibility for the situation in the NDP. Only 275,000 of its 2 million members are affiliated to the NDP – almost all of them in Ontario. With this convention the CLC must make a series of moves with regards to the NDP. All locals should affiliate, a massive membership campaign should be launched throughout the locals. Labor leaders who cannot take on and defeat liberal-reformists in their own party will never defeat the class enemy. Leading unionists must take responsible roles in the riding associations, and seek nominations as candidates.

Immediate action along these lines is required as an election could be called any month now in Ontario, where the NDP is the official opposition. This would provide a splendid opportunity to organized labor to present its case on a broad scale, and there is the very real possibility of electing an NDP government to power in Ontario which would be a significant stride towards establishing a labor government in Ottawa.

A new stage in labor's irreconcilable battle with capital is being joined. The challenges are formidable, for the enemy has great resources at its disposal and is without scruple. But the working people in their great numbers will come to realize that they are even more powerful. In the process of the struggle they will develop the required program, forge the necessary leadership and develop the temper that will lead to victory.

Solidarity from the Editors of **Forward.**

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Seldom revealed facts

Situation of Russian workers

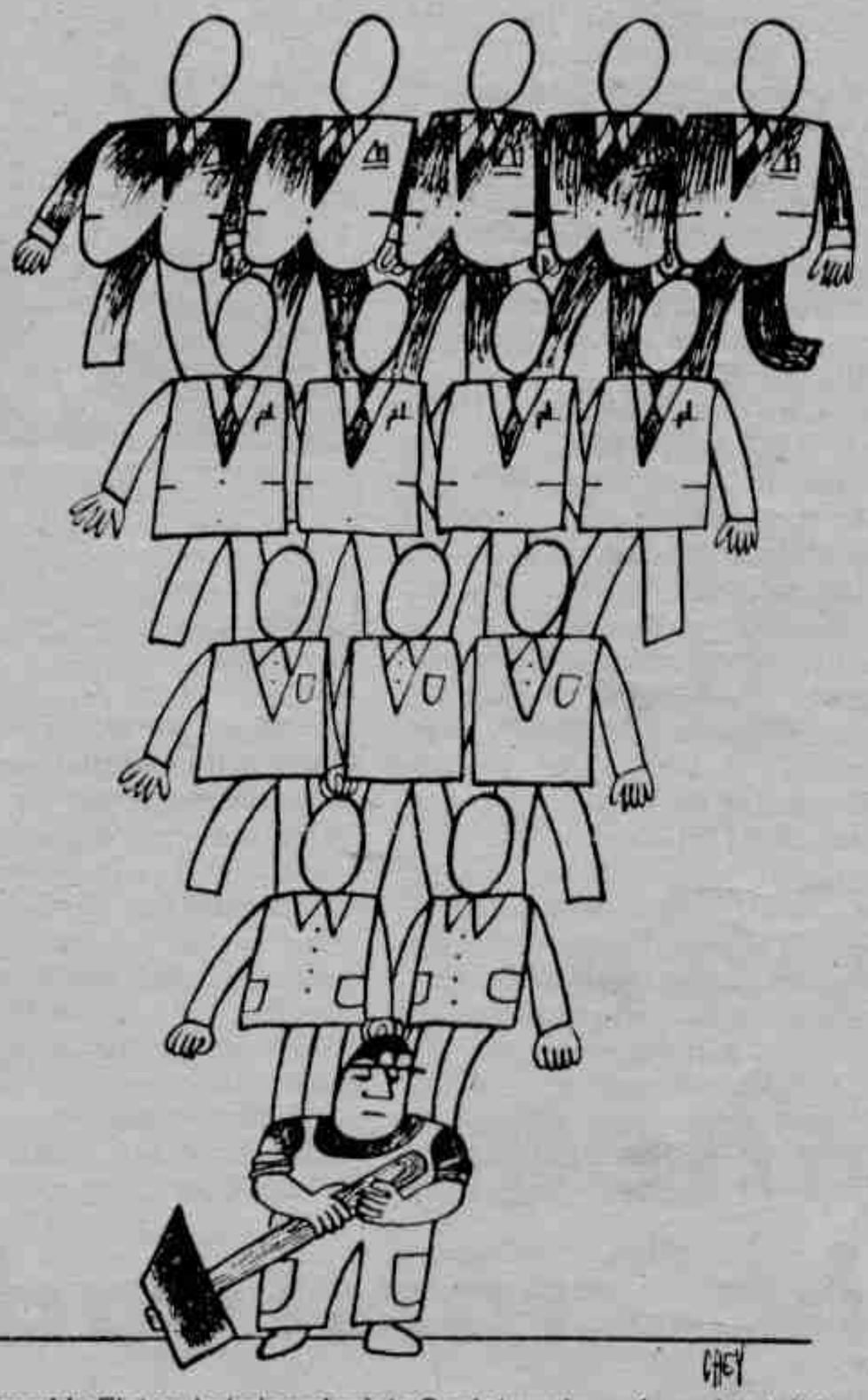
By Ken Napier

When Mario Dido visited the Soviet Union as the secretary of Italy's Communist Party dominated labor federation, he was amazed by his discoveries. Studying the new auto plants constructed by Fiat, he was shocked to see how they had transplanted and extended all the technical equipment and management techniques of capitalism: "it is impossible to distinguish the administrative organization... whether with regard to working conditions or the absolute priority given to productivity from that of the Turin plant... To have a minimum of equilibrium, however, such a system presupposes at the very least the existence of a strong trade union force. But at the present moment such a force does not exist, either in the Soviet Union or in the other countries of Eastern Europe".

What upset him most was the impact of the experience on his bosses back in Italy and the Turin boss who told him that "the trade union demands are unjustified, since even the Soviet leaders in Togliattigrad pay no attention to them". The Soviet Union, the first workers republic, being used as an excuse for a hardline against the workers!

These and other revelations on the conditions of workers in the Soviet Union have been brought to the attention of western readers in the fourth issue of *Critique*, a journal of Soviet studies and socialist theory. M. Holubenko conducts a pioneering study in the field, undertaken from a pro-working class and pro soviet perspective.

Holubenko points out that the class struggle is real and intense in the Soviet Union. However, it is more naked and ruthless than in the capitalist world because the Soviet bureaucracy does not and cannot use many of the indirect methods capitalism uses to control the population and determine its attitudes. Absent in the Soviet Union is unemployment, which serves to discipline workers under capitalism; the market, which capitalism uses as an invisible hand to hide unequal distribution of wealth; decentralized and local governments, which tend to hide where the real power lies. In addition, the class struggle is sharpened by the existence of an "official ideology" of communism which illegitimizes the privileges of the bureaucracy. All this gives rise to a social instability which the Kremlin tries to limit by a massive apparatus of repression maintained by and through a state which excludes even a semblance of neutrality.



Budapest weekly Elet es Iroladom **depicts Soviet workers, forced to toil for privileged bureaucracy.**

In order to prevent the formation of unsanctioned opposition coalitions, the Soviet state, by mediating all social activities, has created a highly atomized, individualized society. "Deviance" in the form of alcoholism, absenteeism, "hooliganism", high job turnover rates all show how working class discontent expresses itself through individual acts of despair. The turnover rate of workers is high, especially in plants where increased productivity is imposed and workers change jobs on the average of once every two years.

The strike patterns in Soviet society are also affected by the specific mechanisms of social control, with those strikes taking place furthest from the central Moscow-Leningrad region being more violent and frequent.

The increased frequency of peripheral strikes is due to greater shortages, less effective police surveillance, and less concern by the central political apparatus: a strike in Magadan would not shake the world; a major strike in Moscow could.

The regime reacts flexibly and with concessions when strikes take place in major centres in order to avoid escalating the confrontation. In May, 1973, in response to a strike by thousands of workers at the machine-building factory on Brest-Litovsk Chausee in the major city of Kiev, the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party ended the strike four hours after it started, giving workers their salary increases and firing most of the top administrators.

Where there is no mass show of force, individual repression of "troublesome" workers is the rule. Thus most organizing takes place underground, resulting in seemingly spontaneous strikes.

Workers' protests reached a crescendo in 1962, during the Khruschov "thaw" when the promise of a consumer society was dangled before Soviet society. On June 1, 1962, in response to price increases on meat and dairy products, the trickle of strikes and protests which had been brewing since the 20th Party Congress in 1956 burst throughout the Soviet Union resulting in sitdown strikes, demonstrations at factory premises, street demonstrations and large scale rioting.

The Novocherkassk protests, in the industrialized Donbas region, showed the struggle in its sharpest form, revealing the speed with which it developed, the special roles played by women and youth, and the repressive reaction of the Soviet bureaucracy. In response to the meat price increases announced in June, 1962, workers at the Budenny Electrical Locomotive Works on the outskirts of the city, upon being informed of a salary cut, occupied their factory in protest. In the morning, several thousand

Leon Trotsky, early Soviet leader exiled and murdered by Stalin, advocated higher wages, shorter hours, workers' democracy as against bureaucratic dictatorship in USSR.

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workers from all three shifts at Budenny decided to march on to the city square, where women textile workers and a student gathering had already coalesced into a massive demonstration. Special internal security troops, more reliable than the local soldiers, who in many cases refused to obey the commands, were flown in and several hundred people were killed. At a certain point in this protest, which was only one of several that took place in the Donbas, there were signs of a regional strike committee developing in coordination with strike organization offices in other major urban centres, a fact of great significance. Since the fall of Khruschov, working class protests have been centred around opposition to low wages, shortages of food and consumer goods, inadequate housing and national oppression.

Between 1964 and 1969, during the first five years of the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership, high wage increases kept protests and strikes to a minimum. However, in 1969, when the new leadership felt sufficiently confident to reinstitute the low growth of wages more characteristic of the Khruschov period, the strike waves once again swept across the country. The most serious disturbances occurred in 1972 in the industrial region of southern Ukraine. In September and October, workers from various factories in Dnipropetrovsk went on strike, demanding higher wages, improved living conditions and the right to choose a job instead of having it imposed. Though these strikes were repressed at a cost of many dead and wounded, another took place in Dniprodzerhinsk, only a few miles away. In response to an unwarranted act of police brutality, a crowd in that city ransacked the central militia building and attacked the Communist Party headquarters, disbanding only after two militia battalions opened fire, leaving ten dead.

Strikes often occur around specific issues other than wages. In Gorky, Sverdlovsk and Krasnodar, strikes have occurred over food shortages. In the latter city, during a three day stay-at-home strike, the majority of workers, responding to a need which affected them all, refused to go to the factories until the stores in Krasnodar were stocked with food and consumer goods of higher quality.

In the settlement attached to the Kiev Hydro-Electric Station in Beryozka, hundreds of workers wrote the central committee of the Communist Party in Moscow insisting on improved housing conditions to replace the prefabricated huts and railway coaches in which they were obliged to stay. The workers marched through the streets carrying banners calling for "All Power To the Soviets."

Though of great significance, these strikes are still skirmishes in the class struggle unfolding in the Soviet Union, directed, as they are, not against the bureaucratic caste which controls the means of distribution and state power, but only against certain aspects of the rule of that caste. Nevertheless, the threat of working class protest has circumscribed the regime's options, forcing, for example a delay in price increases in 1969, which the bureaucrats in Moscow feared would result in uncontrollable opposition.

There are many signs of increasing dissatisfaction among Soviet workers. The regime, in the last eight years has increasingly coopted military and secret police chiefs into the party apparatus in order to ensure a swift response in the event of social protest. The promotion of Andropov, KGB chairman, to full Politburo membership is indicative of this process. Simultaneously, "law and order" is receiving a new emphasis with the passage of more repressive laws, increases in the police budgets and other moves designed to strengthen the massive repressive network which dominates Soviet society.

Direct evidence of workers' discontent was made available in a recent issue of *Izvestia*, which reported on a survey of locomotive workers in Voroshilovgrad, comparing results with a survey taken 5 years earlier. 66% were unhappy with their wages, 71% thought that the working equipment was poor, 70% were unhappy with the health conditions at the plant, etc. In each case, dissatisfaction had increased over the last five years.

Conditions of life in the Soviet Union are difficult for most workers. With a *per capita* income of 50 rubles monthly needed in order to meet minimal needs, the average worker has a takehome pay of less than 130 rubles monthly. A 1967 handbook of Soviet labor statistics showed that over 20% of workers in the highest paid sector, construction, were below the poverty line and over 60% of those in the low paid textile and food industries were under the poverty line.

Despite these facts, the Russian workers are being subjected to an offensive against increased wages. The average wage increase of 3.7% in 1973 is largely accounted for by an increase in the minimum wage and greater incentives to Siberian workers. Taking inflation into account, which is expressed through reclassifying and regrading products rather than by marking them up, the economic situation of workers in the industrial heartland has remained unchanged for years.

While the press has played up right wing opponents of the Soviet regime like Solzhenitsyn, many dissidents are seeking civil liberties in the name of Marxism. Ivan Dzyuba, serving a 5-year sentence in Soviet prisons, is the author of Internationalism or Russification?, **a work supporting Ukrainian nationalism on the basis of Lenin's writings on the national question.**

Along with western methods of industrial organization, the bureaucratic dictators of Moscow are popularizing their own adaptation of western human management schools. A 1972 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazetta* reports a codification of one of these management principles: "One has to know how to address subordinates. A silent worker always represents an enigma and is a difficult subject for management. But it isn't any less important to stop at times a subordinate who talks more than he should."

Of course, should these modern psychological techniques fail to achieve their purpose, the Soviet worker is always subject to the form of discipline described in an issue of *Pravda* recently: "The staff of the Ministry of the Interior and the courts visit quite frequently the labor collective. Functionaries of the police take a very severe position towards those who violate the legal order."

Solzhenitsyn, Nobel-prize winning Soviet writer was first among the recent wave of intellectuals to protest the lack of political liberties in the Soviet Union. Exposing the realities of Stalin's labor camps, he saw no perspective for the possibility of a worker's democracy, and his reactionary views have become a tool for world capitalism.

It is dubious whether these methods designed to prevent conflicts and create a smoother psychological climate will work. The Soviet working class finds itself, almost sixty years after the socialist revolution, dispossessed of state power which is in the hands of a privileged caste of party functionaries. It is this central contradiction between the workers and bureaucracy which will shape the class struggle in the Soviet Union.

Structural changes are occurring which are gradually increasing the social weight of the workers in Soviet society. The central core of the workers, machine building and metal workers, have increased from close to nine to over 15 million in one decade. The number of chemical workers has also doubled in a brief decade. Meanwhile, eleven million people left the Soviet agricultural work force in the decade ending in 1970, reducing its number to less than 23 million.

The existence of the growing, increasingly conscious, cultured, hereditary proletariat must never be forgotten in assessing dissent in the Soviet Union.

For Soviet workers to gain the most elementary of working class and civil rights, their struggles must almost immediately confront and be directed against the centralized political power of the bureaucracy. That power is now protected solely by a web of repression against all dissidents. But the Soviet workers in the course of struggling for the legitimate fruits of the 1917 revolution will inevitably raise the crucial political question – the overthrow of the privileged bureaucratic caste and the creation of organs of workers' control.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

During the World War II years, Canada was never treated as a partner in what was called a grand alliance of freedom-loving nations, but merely as a satellite of Great Britain. This is affirmed by Privy Council documents that are now being released to the Public Archives in Ottawa.

The Big Two, Britain, the aging tyrant of the most far-flung and ruthlessly exploited empire that the world had seen up until that time, and the United States, then moving out to establish its imperialist hegemony over the entire world, both zealously guarded their interests against even the most compliant of their allies. They blocked Canada at every turn from participating on any of the various boards that were designed to implement their war strategy and plans for the post-war world, including the Combined Food Board. After much rangling, only in April 1943, did Canada take a seat on this board, although as a Canadian official noted, "Next to the US, Canada is by far the most important contributor of foodstuffs." Canada never did get a seat on the Combined Munitions Assignment Board, although it was the third largest power financially and in war production.

Lester Pearson, then a senior External Affairs official, urged compliance to the Big Two's opposition and presented the bright side for Canadian capitalism: "We have a special standing in Washington and there is almost always a real desire there to assist us in our war problem. Indeed we are often thought of as virtually another state of the Union. This may at times have irritating consequences, but," he noted, "it also has certain practical advantages."

Among the advantages that the subsequent Liberal Party Prime Minister saw was the considerable enrichment of the budding Canadian capitalist class from their cut in the lush war contracts that brought a vast flood of capital into the building of industrial plant, and accelerated exploitation of Canada's scarcely tapped natural resources. From a satellite of a declining British imperial power, Canada became a satellite of the United States, now too in decline due to its own internal capitalist contradictions and the withdrawal of widening areas of the globe from the imperialist orbit.

●

The April issue of the Chase publication **International Finance** praises FIRA with having made the process of investing in Canada less routine than before, but with "no discernible cooling of investor interests."

This voice of the giant Rockefeller interests notes that "American investors – who own about 80% of the total foreign stake in Canada – are stepping up their plant and equipment spending by 10% this year after a small decline in 1975."

●

The Director-General of what is called Canada's National Arts Centre in Ottawa, G. Hamilton Southam, said "I don't believe in national culture," to listeners of the CBC TV program, The Great Canadian Culture Hunt.

"I don't believe," he continued, "that artists have anything to do with politics. The artists who get mixed up in politics are usually second class artists... the great ones have nothing to do with politics, with unions, nothing to do with campaigns."

When asked by his interviewer whether he thought that the artists mentioned earlier "who have taken a strong nationalist stand are by definition, second-rate, or do you think that they're just misinformed," he replied: "I wouldn't say they were second-rate, because you mentioned the names of some great artists. I would say they were misguided if they got into politics... Artists should not organize around their profession. Each artist individually should organize around his or her art, period... all the rest is nonsense."

●

The Foreign Investment Review Agency was set up by Ottawa with the pretence that it would restrain if not actually block the continued US

takeover of the Canadian economy.

Last fall former Liberal cabinet minister Herbert Gray felt called upon to challenge the government as to whether it agreed with a top FIRA commissioner's admission that it is a service organization for would-be foreign investors. Erstwhile Liberal cabinet Minister Walter Gordon declared before the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration that FIRA "is a joke... designed to deal with the fringes and not with the substance of foreign ownership in the Canadian economy."

Now to complete the picture we have evidence from one of the most authoritative sources – one of the chief instruments of the US imperialist takeover of the Canadian economy – Chase Manhattan Bank.

This transcript appears in the April issue of **Carot**, the quarterly publication of the Canadian Artists Representation (Ontario) described by the Chicago **New Art Examiner** as a "fascinating tabloid newspaper showing what artists can do with solidarity and a tradition of class consciousness."

Some CAR members, ignoring G. Hamilton Southam's advice, are not only socially conscious but are even looking to a specific political party – the NDP. Another article reports the success of Ottawa members in winning support from the NDP there. The Ottawa Centre NDP adopted a motion that urged the Ontario NDP to attempt to win "representation of working visual artists and performing artists and writers on the Boards of publicly supported Cultural Agencies in Ontario." Two CAR members circulated this resolution along with a Culture Fact Sheet to delegates at the London NDP provincial conference and stated their intention to try to interest NDP riding associations to support the motion at the coming Ontario NDP convention in Kingston in June.

Carot can be obtained from 24 Ryerson Avenue, Toronto.

●

Ian Macdonald, president of York University where 38% of the faculty of about 1,000 come from other countries has had a personal experience with what this means for the availability of knowledge about Canadian society.

According to a **Toronto Star** columnist, in 1965 Macdonald, then chief economist of the Ontario Tory government which was in a hassle with the Liberal federal government over federal/provincial relations, tried to pull together a team on the Canadian economy. He found that there was a dearth of knowledge about Canada in three main areas of interest to the Ontario government – transportation economics, regional disparities and federal fiscalism. "I wondered what the hell we'd been doing for the past 40 years," Macdonald recalled.

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NDP, Québécois, labor hold May Day celebrations

By P. Kent

International Workers' Day, May 1st, was celebrated in several centres across Canada this year for the first time in decades. While only in some places did the actions take on a broad democratic united front character they were nonetheless testimony to the increasing combativity and the desire for unity that is spreading through labor's ranks.

Some 2,000 marched through Winnipeg's downtown streets on May 1st in a demonstration organized by the Manitoba Federation of Labor and the Winnipeg and District Labor Council. The central theme was opposition to Ottawa's wage controls. NDP MLA Ken Dillon in his address to the Thompson May Day rally, dissociated himself from Manitoba NDP leader Schreyer's support of Trudeau's program terming it "a bad mistake."

The Toronto celebration was addressed by Labor Council President Sam Fox, UE Director of Education, Val Bjarnason, Jim Bentley of the plumbers, CUPE's Tom Edwards, and Oswaldo Cortes of the Chilean United Labor Central (CUT), and chaired by Toronto Alderman Dan Heap.

Opposition from right wingers in the labor council placed a question mark around the plans for the Toronto rally up until the last minute. In this situation several groups, including NDP ridings and the Toronto Socialist League, got structured into their own projects. Nonetheless the rally was a success and speaks well for a more powerful and united action next year.

A key element in the revival of May Day has been the struggles of the Quebecois. This year saw May Day celebrated in the climax of a 48-hour general strike by some 187,000 teachers, hospital workers, Hydro-Quebec employees and civil service employees protesting the Bourassa government's anti-labor, anti-strike legislation. The strike was the largest in Quebec since 1972. Nearly 20,000 workers and students in Montreal, and tens of thousands in dozens of other Quebec cities, marched and demonstrated in unity on May 1st.

Forward fund drive gets reader support

By the Editors

Our thermometer tells us that we are halfway through our fund drive that began on April 15. So far the response has been astounding! With six weeks left in the campaign, we have raised $4295 in pledges or approximately 78% of our goal of $5500.

This year we went out on a limb. Even after failing to achieve our fund goal last year of $5000, we decided to shoot for $500 above that this year. This amount is needed to cover increased printing costs and to proceed with plans to increase our subscription base.

We felt justified in striving to achieve this goal for basically three reasons:

1. Because of the importance of meeting the growing response in the labor movement to socialist ideas arising from the current surge in struggles against the capitalist governments' and bosses' offensive against workers' wages and social services.
2. Because of the correct political lines that **Forward** has consistently presented on important Canadian issues, such as the NDP, struggles in the labor movement, Morgentaler and the abortion issue, Canadian nationalism, and developments in the student movement.
3. Because of the past history of our loyal supporters who have always helped generously when we have appealed for money, combined with our solid, dedicated volunteer staff that has produced **Forward** for two years now.

Over the past year, **Forward** has reached ever-widening layers of the Canadian working class. The number of **Forward** readers has increased greatly through our mass distributions. We trust that our new readers will continue to show the same generosity as the earlier supporters of **Forward.**

The drive ends June 18. We need another $1200 to hit $5500. We are now looking to you our readers, to raise this amount and put us over the top. We want to continue **Forward** and we know you do too.

Why not send us a cheque or money order payable to Forward Fund Drive?

With our hard work and your financial support, we will continue **Forward** to a socialist Canada and a socialist world.

Forums discuss issues

By G. Donnelly

April 30th saw the Forward Forums present its annual May Day forum. Murray Dowson gave a wrap-up of the previous year's activities as well as the prospects for growing political struggle in the coming year.

In his analysis, Dowson presented listeners with an overall historic perspective regarding Canadian Trotskyism's long-term struggle. Dealing with the experiences of the movement as the International Left Opposition in the thirties he then went into its crystallization as a force for revolutionary change.

In line with the current interest in labor's battle to stop the wage controls and cutbacks, the speaker dealt at some length with the accomplishments of the labor movement, its current actions and the struggles ahead for it, ending with an optimistic projection of the socialist future.

Another key forum was given by Dale Ritch on the struggle that is developing currently in Spain. This struggle is of great interest to Canadian activists trying to understand some of the upheavals going on now that the contradictions in the Spanish state have become glaringly evident. The speaker gave a brief history of the new motion in the Spanish working class and the prospects before it.

Ross Dowson dealt with a topic of considerable interest to activists in Canada on May 23rd with a discussion on the crisis of Canadian Maoism. He discussed certain transformations and struggles going on within the Maoist movement and its relevance for activists in Canada.

Coming up in the next month the Forward Forums will be presenting a number of interesting speakers and topics. On May 21st John Darling will be speaking on the current political crisis in Quebec and its future prospects, focussing on the debate for a labor party for Quebec.

May 28th will feature a presentation on the CLC convention. This is an important coming together of the labor movement in a year that has seen major CLC-sponsored demonstrations against the cutbacks and wage controls. What was accomplished there? What prospects are now opening up? Where will the working class go?

The current crisis in Italy will be discussed on June 5th. This last month has seen the fall of yet another Christian Democratic government – what are the Communist Party's prospects in the coming election? How is the left responding to the new situation? What are the lessons to be drawn for activists in Canada? Robert Kasher will be presenting this forum for discussion.

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Cross-Canada strikes against wage freeze

By Paul Kane

Ottawa's ever-expanding machine of high-paid bureaucrats, armed with the AIB wage freeze regulations, are attempting to pin down and discipline rebellious union local after local from the west to the east coast. They are attempting to turn back the mounting efforts to break through the freeze in the face of continuous rises in the cost of living.

The success of the first strike against an AIB rollback of a negotiated settlement by a Steelworkers local at Elliot Lake has given a powerful lift to the struggle against Board dictates. Many locals which had been chafing under rollbacks, with the adoption of a decision to prepare for a general strike by the assembled delegates at the CLC convention, are preparing to take the struggle to a new level.

Two major battle fronts right now are at Thompson in Manitoba and Kitimat in BC, and there is an increasing number of skirmishes such as those at Roberts Bank and Sparrow, BC, Hinton, Alberta, and St. John's, Newfoundland.

On June 3 some 1700 workers at giant Alcan Smelter in Kitimat, BC walked off their jobs at the same time as over 6000 workers at three Alcan plants in Quebec hit the bricks to bring to a halt more than 60% of the smelting capacity of the second largest aluminum producer in the world.

The Kitimat strike is in defiance of an order by the BC Labor Board and Supreme Court injunctions threatening heavy penalties.

The Kitimat workers, who broke away from Steel to form the independent Canadian Association of Allied Chemical and Smelter Workers, have struck to reopen a contract signed only five months back. Under the pressure of the wage freeze, and faced with a company threat to lock them out, they signed a two-year contract which the AIB arrogantly intervened to rollback from 11% to 8%. A settlement for 15.1% for the first year and 10% for the second, won by the members of the independent Canadian Pulpworkers Union at the nearby Eurocan pulp mill, and agreed to by the Board, has proved highly inflammatory of the Kitimat workers.

The ranks voted down by an almost two-to-one majority three consecutive Labor Board orders to return to work. On June 12, under instructions of the Socred Attorney General, the RCMP moved in to smash a picket barricade and arrest and charge 32 picketers with obstructing a private roadway. The arrested pickets' place has now been taken over by a rotating 8-man squad of members of the Federation Syndicale Sector Aluminum, who on legal strike in Quebec have constituted themselves as a legal picket line in this BC community. The company, backed up by the AIB

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Canada-wide action against AIB!

Continued from page 1

whose powers are being challenged, and by the government, the police and the courts, is attempting to maintain its operations. Along with its supervisory staff, a couple of hundred scabs and hired strike-breakers, it has flown in over 100 foremen from Arvida.

While the AIB backed down before the strike at Elliot Lake to concede a contract that was roughly on par with wages of workers at the nearby INCO operation in Sudbury, it has stood firm behind its rollback of a negotiated settlement with INCO by workers at Thompson in Manitoba.

The 2800 miners at Thompson saw the AIB rollback a three-year contract for 18.11, 7.08 and 6.29% to 12.9, 8 and 6%. Under pressure, the board increased the first year to 14.9%. The ranks voted strike for the original settlement, to take effect on June 15, should provincial Premier Schreyer fail in his appeal to the federal cabinet. An appeal by INCO to the Manitoba Labor Relations Board to declare the strike invalid failed to stop the strike. Union president McGrath has declared the AIB's violation of the collective bargaining process as "intolerable" and the strike to be "strictly against the AIB." He expressed the hope that the strike would have a snowballing effect across the country.

Some 425 members of the United Mineworkers initiated the first strike in Alberta against the AIB for its stall in reviewing a new contract. They shut down the Luscar mine for 24 hours. Over 1500 members of the Mineworkers walked off the job at Sparrow, BC in protest against an AIB rollback from 17% and 12% to 9 and 6% in a two year contract. UMW members at the Roberts Bank Coal port mounted a protest picket against a rollback of a negotiated settlement with Kaiser Resources Limited.

Thompson, Manitoba strikers' picket line against an AIB rollback of their negotiated contract.

On June 7, the Newfoundland Federation of Labor held a two-hour demonstration in St. John's against the wage freeze. In an attempt to intimidate workers from joining such demonstrations, the Salvation Army authorities who run Grace Hospital in St. John's suspended 85 employees, members of CUPE. When the suspension provoked a wildcat strike of about 400 non-professional staff in defiance of a Supreme Court injunction ordering them back to work, the SA authorities dismissed 17. When the struggle threatened to boil over into a general strike, the Newfoundland government intervened with a commission of inquiry, and the government itself took the unprecedented step of agreeing to pay the 17 their full wages, until the commission meets and hands down a binding report.

With a backlog of some 4000 settlements awaiting the AIB's review, and more pouring in at an estimated rate of over 50 a week, discontent is mounting across the country. The central leadership of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and General Workers Union, its national executive, its Board of Trustees and all its staff, has reversed its previous policy of rejecting general strike with an announcement that it endorses the Canadian Labor Congress action program.

In a letter to all of its local unions, after noting that "the CBRT & GW executive board at first opposed this action believing that it was a useless gesture in which our members would be asked to sacrifice a portion of their earnings for no purpose" the executive board declared that it has "reconsidered its decision and reversed its stand and the organization will support the decision of the CLC to organize a general stoppage."

UAW leader and general vice president of the CLC Dennis McDermott, who also revised his opposition to general strike on the eve of the CLC convention, on June 15 addressed a public meeting organized by the Brampton and District Labor Council. He assured his audience that "we are going to give Trudeau the biggest damn political object lesson of his life and change the social order of this country." He said that the first general strike would be a one-day affair to test mobility. But after this one-day strike, as different unions are pinned down by the AIB, the CLC executive, he said, would decide whether another national work stoppage should follow to give massive support.

The leadership of organized labor is confronted with the challenge by the delegates to the recent Alberta Federation of Labor convention – to establish a committee to coordinate negotiations for affiliated unions and to serve as a mobile strike committee to assist striking locals.

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Gov't stall prods controller strike

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By P. Kent

An across-Canada strike of 2200 air traffic controllers early in June was forestalled by the federal treasury board representing the government-owned Air Canada. Ottawa retreated before the leadership of the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association on the key question of bilingualism. It agreed to suspend any extension of bilingual air traffic control beyond the present five small Quebec airports and to appoint a commission of inquiry into bilingualism and safety in air traffic duties.

That the strike may be on again on June 21 is primarily due to this retreat and a whole series of previous retreats by government-appointed Air Canada officials before the forces of English-Canadian chauvinism. The interval has only served to embolden reactionary forces who are claiming that air traffic safety requires the recognition of only one language – that language being English.

Francophone pilots at Air Canada number about 110, or less than 7% of the 1700 plus, employed by the airline, reflecting a built-in prejudice that Francophones are less competent than Anglophones. Air Canada has long been bringing pilots in from Britain rather than offering jobs to Quebecois.

The federal government's Official Languages Commissioner Keith Spicer apologized to a Commons Committee last month that "the root of the Air Canada problem is that language training is not acceptable to Air Canada." To Spicer's claim that "we've been doing everything we can, but a fundamental change of attitude in the organization is necessary," a Liberal MP from Montreal charged "You haven't changed anything. After five years you're merely noting failures, not doing anything constructive."

The only time that French is allowed on Air Canada flights is when the crew is communicating with passengers. At all other times the unwritten law has been that English only be used. But on April 20 a directive was added to Air Canada's Flight Operations Manual that put this law into writing. The directive reads: "The corporate policy specifically defines the technical language to remain English. English only will be used on the flight deck, with the exception of passenger announcements."

The primary force that got Air Canada officials to spell out this directive is the Canadian Airline Pilots' Association which has been backing the English chauvinist leadership and their supporters in the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association. The government's capitulation to the CATCA leadership and its agreement to appoint a commission of inquiry with Montreal lawyer John Keenan heading it was blown up when the majority of the Quebec membership of CATCA, along with Quebec pilots in L'Association des Gens de l'Air, denounced Keenan as having represented the Air Line Pilots' Association in its opposition to the use of French in the five small Quebec airports where it is now in use. L'Association des Gens de l'Air declared to the government that it would in no way cooperate with the inquiry if Keenan was in charge. It was with that the CATCA leadership moved again towards strike.

With strong support of such reactionary organizations as the Canadian Legion and much of the mass media the CATCA leadership is attempting to buttress its opposition to the extension of bilingualism to Quebec airports, the new Mirabel airport uppermost in mind, with the argument that airports elsewhere, in the interests of safety, are unilingual and English. But surveys show this claim to be untrue, almost everywhere in the non-English-speaking world with regards to domestic flights, and untrue in many countries even as regards to international flights. Officials at the bilingual (French and English) Charles de Gaulle airport (Paris), with some 10 million passengers a year, state that the charges that the situation there is unsafe are "false, absolutely false."

The Quebec regional director of CATCA denounced the decision of the association's leadership to strike over the question of bilingual communications as "provocative and irresponsible" and as "a strike against Quebec... (and the vote) a vote based on ethnic racism." The first strike vote revealed a sharp division, with Quebec controllers

Continued on page 2

Controllers strike Que

Continued from page 1

voting 75% against striking and controllers elsewhere in Canada voting 76% in favor. The vote on the tentative offer was nationally 70.2% in favor, Quebec only 36.8% in favor.

There is little doubt that should there be a strike on June 21 the Quebec controllers will boycott it, as their leaders said earlier they would recommend. They will have the support of the Quebec labor movement, both the CNTU and the QFL, who have expressed their solidarity with the Quebec controllers and have demanded that Ottawa continue to introduce bilingual air traffic control instruction at Quebec airports. And they should have the support of all principled union militants across Canada.

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forward June-July '76

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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The limits of reform

By the editors

In very short order, through a series of decisions that have become law, backed up by a massive propaganda campaign, the capitalist class is cutting away at and demolishing a whole series of reforms that the working class have battled for and won over long years of struggle.

The so-called Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) regulations are in fact a declaration that the working class should no longer even anticipate any betterment insofar as wages are concerned, but must accept less. Unemployment at a very high level is to be tolerated, and above all by the youth who are only just stepping out into the world of wage labor. Unemployment insurance is to be less accessible, welfare is to be restricted, health care and education are to be less available and more costly.

With their own words and deeds the longstanding defenders of the capitalist order, the political parties of Big Business, the ideologues of free enterprise and private property in the means of production, are now telling us that their system is not working, is chronically ill, is in fact bankrupt, and on a world scale.

But not only is the system bankrupt but of necessity along with it also bankrupt is the concept of its reform into something increasingly better.

In fact, the whole concept that things have been getting better and that capitalism through a series of reforms plastered on its suppurating hide can as a process be gradually changed into something akin to socialism is now proven to have been based on seeing only the facade, now disintegrating before our eyes, and not the reality.

According to statistics put out by the federal government itself, over the past 25 years, while the gross national product underwent a colossal expansion from $21 billion (1951) to $150 billion (1974) – some seven times plus – the lowest 60% of income earners received about 33% of the national income in 1974 – below the 35% they received in 1951. The highest 20% received 42.4% of the national income in 1974, almost the same as in 1951.

While at one pole, the rich, by holding their percentage of the vastly expanding national income, got richer, the famous trickle down theory – that the poor would automatically benefit — has proven to be a lie! The poor got poorer, and are getting poorer.

In 1951 the lowest 20% got 5½% of the national income. This declined to 4⅓% in 1961 to a mere 3% in 1971.

Thus the facts too make the case not for the gradual accumulation of reforms, of a process of evolution to a better system but for the need for a deepgoing fundamental change, for revolution.

The cost of the continuation of this capitalist system, that has taken humanity into two world wars, into depressions, into aggressive assaults on colonized peoples such as the Vietnam case, and into arms expenditures of $280 billion last year alone that threaten world destruction, is beyond calculation.

The cost of the long overdue revolution? Of course the Canadian capitalists, as their Chilean counterparts, will resist! The cost will be determined by the capacity of the working class majority to understand the situation confronting humanity, their ability to develop the necessary instruments, to achieve the necessary unity and combativity to brush capitalism into the garbage can of history.

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New laws' class bias

The Omnibus Criminal Law Amendment Bill was rushed through parliament in a renewed atmosphere of "law and order".

This bill infringes upon the most fundamental civil rights including the right against self-incrimination, the presumption of innocence, the right of an accused person to be present at his or her trial and a variety of other procedural safeguards provided in law for fairness and equity.

It accompanies the ominous extension of wiretaps used against the labor movement, the forces of Quebecois nationalism, and the left-wing groups – which have always been the target of police snooping, harassment, sabotage and provocation.

The liberal Criminal Lawyers Association, which speaks for Ontario practitioners, condemned this legislation and charged that it would "fundamentally change our system of criminal justice". Warning that Justice Minister Basford admitted the bill was "the tip of the iceberg", the association said that "Our country is in danger of moving silently and imperceptibly into the direction of a right-wing totalitarian state."

That the Canadian capitalist press, through its influence on the decisions in the legal boardrooms within the Justice Department, should seek a tightening of civil rights is no surprise.

An erosion of civil liberties, the creation of an authoritarian atmosphere, and the beating of the "law and order" drums (under the alias of peace and security) represent one front of a concerted assault by the ruling class on the great masses of the people whom it exploits and subjugates. The class bias of these laws – which hide behind the virgin robes of Justice – is readily apparent not only from their content but from their blatant and unpunished violation by the wealthy and powerful as in the case of the Judges' Scandal.

It has always been the experience of history that such restrictions invariably end up being used against those who are weakest and most defenceless particularly ordinary working people in their attempts to protect their standard of living, national minorities seeking independence and equality, the young and the poor.

Such an atmosphere of law and order certainly complements the call for self-discipline (for workers) enshrined in the Anti-Inflation Act.

In the epoch of the decline of capitalist countries, when the utter bankruptcy of the system forces it to squeeze the working classes to the bone, capitalist "democracy" is always one of the first victims. As soon as democratic rights and guarantees make the task of disciplining the labor movement and its disadvantaged allies difficult, a few legislative measures designed to give police forces more power and streamline proceedings appear on the order papers of the capitalist-controlled parliament.

What happens thereafter, if the labor movement, the NDP, and the general left do not succeed in restraining this authoritarian development, constitutes one of the better documented chapters in human history.

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Schreyer bares the reason

Why he supports the wage freeze

By Ross Dowson

Manitoba NDP Premier Ed Schreyer, in shameless defence of his violation of the party's opposition to the Trudeau government's wage freeze, is claiming that it is he who is upholding the underlying principles of the movement. The very clear and unmistakable implication of his argument, developed in the February issue of **Viewsletter**, published by the NDP federal office is that federal party leader Broadbent, the NDP parliamentary caucus, the Canadian Labor Congress leadership, the thousands of delegates who attended the recent Quebec Congress, not to speak of the tens of thousands of workers who are trying to strike off its fetters, are all violating these principles.

"We are," he writes, "Social Democrats in the European tradition and we are committed to making our political system work..." Since, for all its contradictions the system in this country, (the capitalist system, that is) has been working for the Canadian and US capitalists and their hangers-on, and the AIB guidelines are designed and supported by its Liberal-Tory-Socred custodians to make it work better for the capitalists, he adds the two words – "for us."

Those familiar with the many disputes in the working class movement will have heard socialists charge persons such as Schreyer, who also on occasion call themselves socialists, as being nothing more than liberal-reformers who for a few cosmetic concessions in reality support the capitalist system itself – by trying to make it work.

Now, Schreyer, in supporting the wage freeze, actually accepts this "charge" and turns on his critics who are attempting to give leadership against it. "I don't think," he says, with a certain sarcasm, "that we are Marxists or revolutionaries." And then in the typical redbaiting style of his mentors such as Trudeau, he depicts Marxists as being committed to "allowing our country to come to ruin... to tearing it down."

This of course is not at all what revolutionaries are about, least of all those who call themselves Marxists.

From their analysis of the laws that govern the workings of capitalism, Marxists see capitalism as a system riddled with contradictions – which periodically take on the scope of crises – regardless of the responses of the working class or any elements of that class, including those who become revolutionaries. It is the system that is tearing itself apart. One of the contradictions, which it itself a product of capitalism, but which contains the possibility of resolving all the rest, is that between capital and labor over the surplus value created by labor. That is the class struggle.

No one can stand outside this irreconcilable conflict. All are on, or "neutral" on one side or the other, consciously or unconsciously. The Marxists attempt to intervene in this conflict. In the current attempt of the capitalist class and their political stooges to impose the cost of the present crisis on the backs of the workers, they stand with the working class – Schreyer stands with the capitalist class. They do so, first, to help in the defence of the working class and their living standards, and second, to help raise their level of consciousness to move forward in the direction of replacing this completely bankrupt system with a totally new system – one where the natural resources and the vast forces of production presently owned and operated solely in the interest of profit for a few, will be owned by society as a whole, and operated according to a plan devised by the working people for the well-being of all.

Manitoba NDP leader Schreyer, a favorite of the party leadership, provoked a crisis with trade unions for supporting Trudeau' freeze.

Hundreds of thousands are opposing the wage freeze and the governments, the courts, the mass media, that support it.

In their struggle against the effects of the system and all the forces that it is mobilizing to block them, they are inevitably struggling against the system itself – the cause of their difficulties. In the process they will rid themselves of the Schreyers who are fronting for the system, along with the system itself. That's how Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and their disciples see it.

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In celebration of the American Revolution 1776

By the editor

On the occasion of the bicentennial of the American Revolution, the editors of **Forward** *reprint below an abridged version of a special contribution on this subject by one of the greatest socialist revolutionaries of the United States. The author was James P. Cannon – worker, union organizer, and Trotskyist leader who, together with Trotsky, played a unique role in forging the Socialist Workers Party of the US in 1938. He was the national chairman emeritus of the SWP when he died in 1974 at the age of 84.*

What Cannon has to offer Canadian socialists in this essay on the American Revolution is his profound understanding of the nature of the class struggle and his dialectical insight into the fusing of the international sweep of Marxism with the specific traits of the American working class. His Marxism was not a bookish abstraction but rather a living, breathing vision of American workers coming to the perspective of socialism with the aid of Marxism from their own experiences in the fortress of world imperialism.

In the October 1974 issue of **Forward**, *Ross Dowson paid tribute to Cannon's Marxism: "The internationalist Cannon was above all an American - in the same sense that Lenin was uniquely Russian and Jean Jaures particularly French. Cannon came from the American working class and everything he said and did was firmly situated in it and rooted to it... He studied the United States and its working people, both their past and their present. He grasped fully the great dynamism of American society and the essential rebelliousness of its people, and he articulated their feelings and aspirations with great integrity and empathy and, on occasion, with powerful evocations. Cannon's Americanism was an integral part of his style and it could be correctly said to be the essence of his being."*

Two hundred years after the first American revolution, the workers there are fighting to defend democratic rights and broaden them to win protection from soaring prices, layoffs, racism, and oppression of women. Above, section of a mural by Diego Rivera depicting leading personalities and events in that great event.

The representatives in Congress assembled 175 years ago were the great initiators. When they said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident," they started something that opened up a new era of promise for all mankind. That's what I am ready to celebrate any time the bands begin to play – the start and the promise. But nobody can sell me the Fourth of July speeches which represent the start as the finish and the promise as the fulfilment. I quit believing in them a long time ago. As soon as I grew old enough to look around and see what was going on in this country – all the inequality and injustice still remaining – the beneficiaries of privilege, claiming the heritage of our first revolution, struck me as imposters. I recognized the standard Fourth of July orators as phonies, as desecrators of a noble dream. They didn't look to me like the Liberty Boys of '76.

But that never turned me against the Fourth of July, as was the case with so many American radicals and revolutionists in the past. I thought the Fourth of July belonged to the people. I always regarded its renunciation as one of the biggest mistakes of American radicalism. It is wrong to confuse internationalism with anti-Americanism: to relinquish the revolutionary traditions of our country to the reactionaries; to let the modern workers' revolutionary movement, the legitimate heir of

James P. Cannon, U.S. pioneer revolutionary socialist leader.

the men of 1776, appear as something foreign to our country.

That is why it did my heart good to see *The Militant* blossom out this year in a special Fourth of July issue, with its front page manifesto greeting the people of Asia, fighting for their national independence, in the name of our own revolution of 1776 – and a whole page of special articles devoted to this revolution and its authentic leaders. The articles in this special issue are obviously the result of serious study and historical research. They throw new light on the most important features of the revolution which have long been obscured, and even deliberately hidden, to serve the special interests of the present-day Tories. These revelations put a powerful propaganda weapon into the hands of those who see in the coming revolution of the American workers not a negation, but a continuation and completion of the revolution for national independence of 175 years ago.

The authors of these remarkable articles were guided in their research by a theory which required them to look for the essential facts and to study them in their inter-relationship. They sought to uncover the motive force of the class struggle – the key to the real understanding of all history. The theory which inspired the authors of these articles to study the first American revolution, and guided them in their work, is Marxism – which Congress and the courts would outlaw as a "foreign" doctrine, and the teaching of which in the schools is now virtually prohibited.

The procedure through which these articles in the Fourth of July issue of *The Militant* finally took shape is an interesting story in itself. They are the work of students in our party school of Marxism. We are committed to the proposition that the cadres of our party have an historical task to accomplish. That task is to organize and lead the coming revolution of the American working class. How better can one prepare to take effective part in such a colossal enterprise than to study the revolution out of which this nation was born? And how can one study revolutionary history seriously and profitably without the aid of the only revolutionary theory of history there is? That's our point of view anyway. And we are serious enough about it to take a group of our leading people of the younger generation out of everyday activity for six months every year to study the history of their country and this "foreign" doctrine which alone explains it.

You will never find two subjects which fit better together. Marx sketched the whole broad outline of American capitalism as it is today in advance of its development. In return for that, American capitalism in all its main features is the crowning proof of Marxism. Our students go to Marx to study America, and study America to verify Marx.

Marxism is not a dogma to be studied for its own sake, but a theory of social evolution and a guide to action in the class struggle. It is not a substitute for the knowledge of concrete reality, past and present, but a theoretical tool for its investigation and interpretation. Our students understand it that way. They went to Marx — and discovered America.

And that, in my opinion, is a very important discovery. We have nothing to do with jingoism, or any kind of vulgar national conceit and arrogance. We are internationalists, and we know very well that our fate is bound up with that of the rest of the world. The revolution which will transform society and bring in the socialist order is a world-wide affair, a task requiring international cooperation to which we contribute only a part. But our part in this international cooperation is the revolution here at home. We must attend to that, study it and know it. And we can't do that properly unless we know our country and its history and traditions. They are, for the greater part, good. The country itself is good, and so are the great majority of the people in it. Their achievements are many and great. There is nothing really wrong with the USA except that the wrong people have usurped control of it and are running it into the ditch.

The cure for that is not to throw away the country and its traditions, but to get rid of the usurpers by the process popularized by our forefathers under the name of revolution. This new revolution will have to complete the work started by the men of 1776. They secured the nation's independence. The Second American Revolution of the Sixties, known as the Civil War, smashed the system of chattel slavery, unified the country and opened the way for its unobstructed industrial development. The task of the Third American Revolution is to take this great industrial machine out of the hands of a parasitical clique who operate it for their own benefit, and operate it for the benefit of all.

That's the general idea. But it is not quite as simple as it sounds. There are complications and complexities. The workers have to make their way through a jungle of traps and deceptions. They need a map and a compass. They need a generalization of the experiences of the past and a theoretical guiding line for the future. That's what Marxism is. The American workers will come to Marx, and with him they will be invincible. "Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers," said Trotsky. We have the same opinion, and we are working to realize it.

Karl Marx, the German Jew, who lived and worked out his profound theory in England, is native to all countries. The supreme analyst of capitalism is most of all at home in the United States where the development of capitalism has reached its apogee. Marx will help the American workers to know their country, and to change it and make it really their own. July 16, 951-

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Weekly talks at Forward Forums discuss key ideas

By Matt O'Henly

Last month saw the CLC convention occur with its critical implications for the Canadian labor movement, and the Forward Forum provided a major discussion of this event on the 28th. Socialist League organizer Gordon Doctorow, who was at the convention, reported on the events which occurred there and their significance for the ongoing struggle of the labor movement against the wage freeze.

Discussing the CLC resolutions at some length, Doctorow pointed out the political implications of the convention decisions. He clearly showed that the CLC's resolutions and militant spirit marked a strong step forward in that struggle.

He also related his impressions of the solidity of the labor front expressed at the convention and briefly pointed out the firm support delegates expressed for the NDP, within the framework of unconditional and critical support.

Another key forum was given by Robert Kasher on the situation in Italy. The speaker discussed the implications of the current election campaigns of the Communist Party and Socialist Party of Italy and the possibilities presented by the elections to be held on June 22.

This coming month the Forward Forum will be presenting a varied lineup of topics of concern to the left. On June 18 the Irish question will be taken up. A speaker from the Sean Fox Club in Toronto is scheduled to present an informative and analytical talk on this important and complex question.

The following week, June 25, will feature an examination of the Ontario NDP convention held on June 11-13 at Kingston. With the NDP probably facing an election this year this convention is important in understanding the party's current state, particularly from the point of view of building a left wing. Two delegates who played an active role in the convention will present a joint analysis of its significance.

The July 2 forum by Murray Dowson will be on the more general topic of the current world economic recession. Drawing heavily on the recent writings by the renowned Marxist economist Ernest Mandel on this subject, Dowson will be presenting a theoretical overview of this crisis which underlies all the major issues of wage controls and cutbacks in Canadian and other capitalist countries.

Drive surpasses $5500 objective

By the editors

We did it! This year's Forward Fund Drive has been a huge success! Thanks to the support of our committed readers, we not only hit our target of $5500 but surpassed it by $400, drawing in contributions and pledges of $5900. Thus in the year that we set our most ambitious target, we not only met the challenge of funding the socialist press but far surpassed it.

This shows that a paper that agitates for unconditional support of the NDP as the expression of independent labor political action in Canada, that strives to win socialist policies in this party by fighting for the construction of a principled left wing, that consistently identifies with the radical Canadian nationalist sentiment that is sweeping this country in opposition to the rule of the US imperialist corporations and their stooges in the Liberal and Tory parties that act in their behalf, and that defends the rights of all those exploited and oppressed under capitalism – women, youth, native peoples, the workers who have created the immense wealth of this country – by projecting a socialist solution, can not only survive but can gain the overwhelming support of its many readers.

While the bulk of the contributions came from the Toronto area, it is our pleasure to report donations from Vancouver and the west coast, from other Ontario cities, and even from Lion's Head in Northern Ontario. We would like to thank our friends for their serious response to our call for support.

We at **Forward** pledge to carry on in publishing the same high calibre of socialist journalism readers have come to expect. Part of the funds raised will be used to expand the paper's distribution and circulation in order to make its intervention in the class struggle more effective.

We would also like to pay tribute, at this time, to the Forward Fund Drive co-ordinators whose energy and organization made this drive such a success. To them and to all our generous readers the staff wishes to end this year's Forward Fund Drive with heart-felt thanks and a commitment to press forward.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

The Council of Canadian Filmmakers has sent a petition, signed by more than 200 of its Toronto members, to Ottawa. It urges the enforcement of a 5% levy against box office grosses for all foreign movies in Canada and the enforcement of a quota on the number of Canadian-made feature films shown here.

Chairwoman Sandra Gathercole pointed out to the annual meeting held in Toronto that "Canada remains the only film producing country without any form of protection for its own films in their own market," and said that "we'll remain a Hollywood branch plant until we get teeth in legislated controls." She said that 104 countries have legislated quota or tax laws and controls to protect themselves from Hollywood's domination of the film market place.

She denounced the "voluntary" commitment by the US-owned Famous Players and Odeon chains as a "toothless tiger", and cited Sam Goldwyn's malapropism "Verbal agreements are not worth the paper they are written on." Odeon spent only $7,000 of its committed $500,000 to the making of Canadian films.

The Council of Canadian filmmakers represents 10 major unions and regional organizations in Canada's movie industry.

Among its second annual Tongue-in-Cheek Awards, the council presented The Why Rocca the Boat Award to the Canadian Film Development Corporation, and The Zero The Fool Award to Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner.

Hamilton Westinghouse operation he said that it "does raise the point" – and added, "I didn't mean to refer to the case, so much as to the pattern it could imply."

Since then, things have been falling into place. The Canadian officers appointed by Westinghouse, which had sold its appliance operations to White, including its Canadian interests until the deal was held up by officials of the Foreign Investments Review Act, announced on May 28 that they are no longer prepared to consider the GSW offer.

A few days later the federal trademark registrar announced a decision to bar WCI (Canada) from use of the Westinghouse trademark – for the time being. The officers of Westinghouse Canada Ltd. are going to continue the operation on their own, although they have no technology base, no design and engineering teams, have no certainty as to the use of the Westinghouse trademark, and are dependent on the WCI-owned operation in the US for parts.

So it would appear that the Ottawa cabinet got rid of the hot potato by tossing it higher, to the ceiling, where it is temporarily stuck. Canadian-owned GSW would appear to be out, but not WCI, or its Canadian branch plant operation. Which raises the question – who really does rule Canada? With whom does Canadian capital see its overall interests lie? Certainly not the working class.

The legislative rulers of Canada, the Liberal cabinet in Ottawa, have been tossing the fate of Westinghouse's Hamilton operation back and forth for 17 months like a hot potato.

Should it be allowed to fall into the hands of the US-owned White Consolidated Industries who have bought up Westinghouse's US appliance section, or should Canadian-owned General Steel Wares be allowed to pick it up to become the dominant appliance fabricator in the Canadian market? The Westinghouse trade mark poses a particularly ticklish question for the North American market. WCI already has it in the US but of course GSW wants it, along with the Hamilton plant.

The workers at the Hamilton plant, organized in a UE local, have clearly opted for the GSW offer, largely because of the vagaries of WCI (Canada)'s response to questions on job security. For the administrators of the state designed to further the overall interests of Canada's ruling class the question appears to be more complex.

But on April 30 the US ambassador to Canada, Thomas Enders, in his first address, made to the Empire Club in Toronto, cut through the usual niceties to address himself to this problem, and incidentally, to the cabinet.

He expressed an understanding of Canadians' desire to review US investments "at first entry against standards of benefit to Canada. Provided you give us the same treatment as other countries, he assured his businessman audience, this is not an issue between us. But," he declared, "we would be concerned if you use your review powers to disadvantage US-owned firms already established here in favor of their Canadian-owned competitors."

To the enquiry as to whether he was referring specifically to WCI (Canada)'s efforts to acquire the

In their November-December issue **This Magazine** carried a lengthy critique by Ian Lumsden of the Moore-Wells brochure **Imperialism and the National Question in Canada**, which we noted in our March 1976 issue. A few months earlier **Canadian Revolution** carried a 16-page critique of the same brochure by Jack Scott. Now the latest issue of **Canadian Dimension** carries an 11-page contribution entitled **Imperialism and the Canadian Left** by its associate editor, and author of **Partner to Behemoth**, John Warnock. This article centres in on the Moore-Wells brochure, not, as Warnock says "because the book deserves it – it doesn't – but the subject does."

This column has not taken up the Moore-Wells brochure specifically, largely because it expresses on a consistent basis a viewpoint which is at complete variance with ours. However, the line of **Imperialism and the National Question in Canada** is essentially that of the League for Socialist Action and its twice-monthly **Labor Challenge** ever since it suddenly reversed field. It commenced in 1972 with articles that ceased to treat Canadian complicity in Vietnam as a powder-monkey and diplomatic stooge for US imperialism, but as an imperialist power in its own right, with its own aims.

The views expressed in **Imperialism and the National Question in Canada** are also those of the Revolutionary Marxist Group and **Old Mole**, although to a lesser extent as there appear to be differences on this matter in that organization.

How, as Marxists and Trotskyists, the LSA in particular can remain silent in the face of such a comprehensive attack on one of its key tenets from the major currents in the Canadian left is difficult to understand ...unless after the havoc they created in their own organization they have come to re-evaluate their views. But this too would require an honest admission and a correction from any serious movement.

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Trudeau retreats before campaign against French

By P. Kent

It is hard to believe it was only a matter of weeks ago that Prime Minister Trudeau was boasting – to the approving nods of the Ottawa meeting of the international businessmen's Trilateral Commission – that separatism in Canada is dead.

Now, with Transport Minister Otto Lang's capitulation before air traffic controller and pilot cries that air safety demands the ditching of the use of the French language even in Quebec, his government is in a profound crisis. Jean Marchand's resignation as minister of the environment on the grounds that "I could not stay in a government that is prepared to negotiate bilingualism," brings to six the number of former cabinet ministers now sitting in the back benches. Two Quebec members of the federal Liberal caucus have confirmed that they are undertaking the legal actions on behalf of L'Association des Gens de l'Air du Quebec to overturn their own government's prohibitions of the French language. They are charging, before both the Quebec Superior Court and the Federal Court, that Ottawa's English-only ruling is a violation of the Official Languages Act, which recognizes French and English as the official languages of the country.

One of them, Pierre De Bane, has declared his intention to fight to the "finish" on the issue of bilingualism even though it could lead to a split in the Liberal Party. The Quebec wing of the party is in turmoil, with the Quebec National Assembly voting unanimously behind a joint Liberal and Parti Quebecois motion condemning the Trudeau government's failure to enforce bilingualism in the province's airports. Trudeau's promise of a bilingual Canada, designed to placate the Quebec nation's grave concern about their language and cultural rights, that was to show that Confederation can work, separatist claims to the contrary, has been blown sky high.

The scarcely veiled English chauvinist arguments of the air traffic controllers and airline pilots opened up a veritable flood of anti-French poison which has isolated Quebec from the rest of the country and is resulting in innumerable overt abuses of the rights of the million Francophones residing outside of Quebec.

Trudeau was not indulging in melodramatics when he told the House that "this country is in danger of very seriously being divided on this issue as it has not been in 34 years." Then, a plebiscite as to whether conscripts in the armed forces should be drafted to serve overseas in the Second Imperialist World War revealed that Quebec stood in overwhelming opposition to the majority in English-speaking Canada. Since then the chief expression of Quebec nationalist sentiment has been the defence of French language and culture in the encroaching seas of Anglo-Canadian and US English culture.

Ever since the celebrations that accompanied the enactment of the Official Languages Act, which declared Canada to be bilingual, the government's leading spokespersons have been adapting to forces that have been promoting the concept that Canada is multicultural, so that French – rather than being equally the official language with English – is after all one of many languages and cultures that make up the whole. Trudeau himself has gone so far as to vigorously and publicly attack his own party, in office in Quebec, for legislating French as the official language of Quebec. Legislated in defence of the

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Quebec air controllers defied the anti-French strike of English controllers and pilots by staying on the job last June.

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French language issue causes crisis for Liberal government

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French language in Quebec, it has been condemned by Trudeau as compromising the possibility of winning acceptance of French language rights in the rest of Canada.

As late as July 13, Treasury Board president Jean Chretien exempted the some 20 federal crown corporations in Quebec from having to comply with the Quebec legislation which would promote French as the working language in all levels of the corporations.

But the settlement of the 8-day air traffic controllers' strike saw the government move from a policy of retreat and compromises on French language rights to abject collapse.

The government agreed to establish a 3-member inquiry commission to investigate the safety, and along with it the cost and efficiency, of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec; and upon the issuance of their report to present it for a free vote in the House of Commons – sometime within the next two years.

In the meantime the government, pursuant to its agreement, has issued regulations that actually forbid the use of French even in Quebec except for six airports where it will be permitted for visual flight control only. Thus for the first time the mandatory use of English not only in international airports but almost all airports in Canada has been spelled out in regulations. Furthermore, regulations related to the use of French on the flight decks of Air Canada have been interpreted by Walter McLeish, director of the Canadian Air Transport Administration as in effect eliminating the use of French on a plane for its navigation and operation.

Marchand takes flight from Liberal cabinet over government's capitulation to anti-French sentiment in air controller dispute.

It is no wonder that Roger Demers, president of L'Association des Gens de l'Air du Quebec condemned the government's settlement before the biennial convention of the Confederation of National Trade Unions as nothing but a capitulation to blackmail. He pointed out that "All over the world, except in Quebec, the language of a country is the prime language of air communication. What we want is nothing more than this fundamental right."

The NDP leadership along with the CLC leadership have never shown any understanding of the significance of the mounting sentiment for self-determination, not to speak of it as being the elementary democratic right of the Quebecois should they choose to exercise it. They have compromised the development of a labor party formation there by leaving the field open to the petty-bourgeois reformist Parti Quebecois. In this dispute the NDP leadership in their short-sighted electoral opportunism have cravenly avoided the fundamental question – that of French language rights.

While in his statement President Morris dissociated the CLC from the independent Canadian Airline Pilots Association and the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association as running counter to CLC policy of support of the Official Languages Act, he protested against what he called the "barrage of politicking" that "is having a divisive effect on this country." His demand that "safety be the only issue in question" and "that the findings of the inquiry commission should be considered final" placed him firmly behind Trudeau and his Liberal government.

In the meantime French language rights have suffered a blow not only in Quebec but right across Canada – and the most conservative reactionary forces in the country have become stronger and bolder in the process. The division between Quebec and English Canada, and along lines that are not conducive to the unity of their working class movements, has been widened just when it is most needed to carry a successful fight against Trudeau's wage controls. Trudeau has won time to attempt to patch up his badly divided Liberal machine before the coming Quebec elections and to prepare for the commission of inquiry's recommendation before the next federal election. He is betting heavily on it to find out what everyone knows – that French is above all the language of safety in Quebec, and if found to be otherwise things will have cooled down and there will be no new explosions.

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All out behind the CLC's day of protest action!

By the editors

As we go to press, Joseph Morris, Canadian Labor Congress President, has announced that the CLC will be calling a "national day of protest" against the wage freeze. Morris explained that such a protest would encompass the work stoppages authorized by the CLC convention as well as reach out to other social layers such as students and pensioners. "By changing the terminology, we've broadened the scope of the protest."

In a snide attempt to counteract Morris' call, Prime Minister Trudeau attached great importance to the terminological change, suggesting that the protest was a retreat from the earlier call for a general strike.

But, in fact, the CLC has opened the door for all community organizations, pensioners' groups, tenants' organizations, consumer organizations, student councils and unorganized workers to swell the ranks of protest against the autocratic Anti-Inflation Board.

By raising tuition fees, by allowing meagre pensions to shrink through inflated dollars, by cutbacks in hospitals, daycare, welfare, unemployment insurance and a variety of other social services, the government has created an angry groundswell of protest which can be tapped by the labor protest. All those affected by federal and provincial cutbacks are potential allies and participants in the massive projected one-day general protest.

Morris' call should be carried throughout the grassroots organizations, through the student organizations, through the NDP and into the ranks of unorganized workers. The opening up of the national work stoppage to encompass allies of the labor movement underlines the seriousness of the entire enterprise and its unifying potential.

When the precise date and form of protest is set, all socialists and labor activists have the duty to respond unreservedly to Morris' appeal in order to build what promises to be the most massive and significant expression of labor opposition for decades.

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Danger or step forward?

CLC Manifesto in perspective

By Ross Dowson

The editors of the Saskatchewan monthly **Next Year Country** in their August/September issue characterize Labor's Manifesto for Canada, adopted by the recent Canadian Labor Congress convention, as "the first dangerous step along a path that could lead to a gradual reduction of the autonomy of affiliated unions, to a form of centralized management of the economy by the bureaucrats of capital, labor and government, and possibly to the imposition in Canada of a peculiar form of fascism alternatively called liberal corporatism, social corporatism and social democracy."

They quote with approval CUPE convention delegate Judy Darcy's attack on the Manifesto in which she declared: "The working class across Canada must reject this document absolutely and unequivocably."

Ray Warden, in an article appearing in the June 21 **Labor Challenge**, headed "Why big business likes the CLC Manifesto," sees it as putting "labor's independence up for sale" and counterposes it to the Program of Action and the general strike call that flows out of it.

If the contentions of **Next Year Country** and **Labor Challenge** were true all unionists, not to speak of socialists, would be required to oppose the Manifesto with all the means at their disposal and incidentally explain the contradiction that under its banner the CLC leadership continues to advance along the path to a general strike against the federal government's wage freeze.

CLC executive council member and UAW Canadian director Dennis McDermott told the delegates to the Canadian District Council this month that they should "start organizing immediately in order to insure the UAW will be out there front and centre and in full force when the time comes. The responsibility for organizing, for mobilizing, for bringing about in the end result an intelligent, effective and meaningful nation-wide protest rests squarely on the shoulders of the leadership at every level. No one is excused. If we cannot produce on this one we are not worth our mettle and we should step aside."

The Manifesto contains many ambiguities and contradictions and only indirectly does it deal with the politics of the struggle. It fails to place the NDP as labor's political arm within its framework. That, along with a healthy distrust of the leadership based on their long records of compromises and sweetheart deals, and the fact that it was thrust on the delegates at the last moment no doubt accounted for some of the opposition from the floor. The use of the terms "democratic socialism" and "social democracy" to describe the aims and philosophy of labor, terms which do not have a clear connotation, but certainly not that of class betrayal, in the experience of any sizeable number of Canadian unionists, would tend to provoke a reflex opposition from radicals. Its musings on tripartism served to open the door for the Communist Party to put forward its openly class collaborationist concept of a democratic coalition government.

But one wonders if the editors of **Next Year Country** and Ray Warden in **Labor Challenge**, freed from the pressures that confronted the delegates, have actually read the Manifesto, or if they have, whether they examined it from the stance of the rank and file unionist or are only seeing what they want to see in it.

The central thrust of the Manifesto is radical, not only holding firm to the aim of smashing the wage controls, but in attempting to project a way ahead, following success in their removal. It projects a new challenge and turn to the ranks of organized labor.

It characterizes labor's opposition to the government's attack on the incomes and rights of the working people as "defensive". "The time has come to move to the front", it declares, "to escalate our opposition to wage controls and to formulate a labor program for the political economy and social future of this country."

"...Our movement faces a two-fold challenge – to defeat wage controls and to mobilize our strength behind the task of creating a more equitable and just society in the wake of that defeat. The next few years are filled with tremendous potential for the trade union movement to mould and transform the economic and political institutions of Canada."

Among the possible forms that it speculates the government may have in mind is "liberal corporatism", defined as a situation "in which organized labor cooperates with the state and business to establish guidelines for our respective demands on the economic system and to determine our respective shares." This the document rejects out of hand. "If we do not have the power to resist wage controls then we will be ultimately coopted into serving the government's intention." "In this development," the Manifesto continues, "tripartism would mean that

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Militant workers expressed opposition to CLC manifesto, mistakenly equating tripartism with capitulation to wage controls.

the institutions of organized labor would function to ensure the acquiescence of workers to decisions taken by new institutions in which their representatives have no real power." However, it responds, "if we do have the power to resist wage controls, then we also have the power to create social democracy."

The section on the economic problems has the merit of understanding that Keynesian economic theories are no longer "effective", that the government's attack "demonstrates labor's real lack of political power on a national basis," that "most real powers of economic decision-making are in private hands", that "the managers of corporations always want to minimize the cost of labor", and that "the government has become a manager at the national level. In fact, they have always been economic managers."

The section on tripartism and national planning not only warns that "in talking about or planning for tri-partism we should harbor no false illusions about the dangers in the task which confronts labor." It warns that "the mere fact of tripartism will not alter that fundamental fact – the business community will continue to argue that it must have the necessary economic climate to pursue profits and every time that its position deteriorates we can expect that wages and labor costs will be the first sector restrained."

The Manifesto lays down as "a prerequisite of tripartism", "that management gives up its unilateral right to determine investment and pricing policies. "However it next declares that "business will not be willing to relinquish its power to invest and set its own prices and profits while government would certainly not give up the power to govern."

Nonetheless, it continues, "this is not to say that tripartism or the equal sharing of all powers between labor, business and government should not be an objective of labor since the wresting of power from business and its government in the interests of labor is our legitimate goal."

The last section starts off with the statement that, "Canada has clearly reached a stage in its history when our future economic growth cannot be secured without the cooperation of organized labor in national economic and social policies." It ends with the paragraph, "Progressive change can grow out of the need for change, that is the price of our cooperation." In between it spells out what it means by progressive change – which above all requires "a system of national social and economic planning." It is so far reaching as to represent not a program of cooperation but a declaration that poses irreconcilable struggle against the very essence of capitalism.

Toronto Star columnist Ed Finn, who has been raking the CLC leadership over the coals for continuing to hold to the adversary concept of relations between labor and capital, instead of adopting the co-determination concepts of the Swedish and West German trade union bureaucracy, which they explicitly reject, and who up until recently performed as a speech writer for federal labor minister Munro at the same time as he functions as public relations director of the CBRT, commented on the Manifesto. "Cynics may even suggest that the congress manifesto was deliberately loaded with preconditions so as to ensure its rejection by government and industry."

Not so, he says. "It's more probable that the stipulations were included to facilitate adoption of the manifesto by the convention delegates."

Others on the left have been busy "exposing" the CLC leadership which is talking up general strike and setting up the structure for its success, for in reality having the sole aim of dissipating union militancy.

It would seem apparent that these arguments contain within themselves the idea that the trade union leadership, if not actually leading the struggle, is at the very least keeping up with it – adapting to the aspirations of the delegates to a national convention by writing a program that would be adopted by the overwhelming majority and laying the foundations upon which a general strike can be built.

Whatever it tells us about the nature of the Canadian trade union leadership it certainly speaks well for the power and influence of the militants.

Far from rejecting the Manifesto "absolutely and unequivocally" the militants, who Finn suggests were so successful in shaping it, should give it their critical support, should circulate it and open up free wheeling discussions at every level in the unions.

Far from muttering dire warnings of betrayal militants have everything to gain by throwing all their energies behind the general strike preparations that the Congress has sanctified. By so doing they not only make its success more probable, and its betrayal by the current leaders more difficult, but they prepare the forces for an alternative class struggle leadership that would certainly come out of it in such an eventuality.

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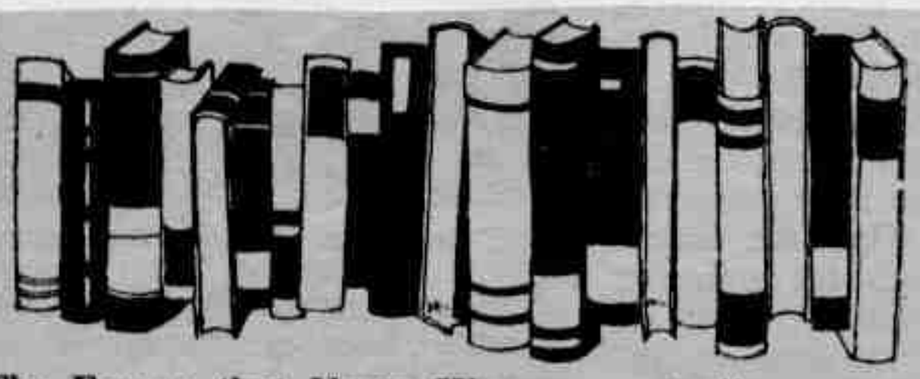

Reviews of books from the workers' bookshelf

The Enemy that Never Was: a history of the Japanese Canadians, by Ken Adachi, 456 pages, 1976, McClelland and Stewart, $14.95.

While this study spans the period 1877 to 1975, when Japanese from the village of Mio followed a countryman to work the harvest of salmon at Steveston BC to Okinawans toiling as section hands in South Alberta for the CPR in the early 1900s, it concentrates on what the author considers to be the core of the Japanese experience in Canada – the criminal actions of the Canadian state immediately prior to, during, and after World War II.

The conditions of Japanese Canadians, almost 11,000 by 1931, became most clearly revealed as second generation (Nisei) launched an effort to overcome their being denied the right to vote. The fact of their not having the franchise only reflected and reinforced the facts of their being legally and *de facto* barred from the most elementary rights prevailing in the community.

In their 1936 brief to the federal government the Japanese-Canadian Citizens League charged "The present refusal of the franchise on the grounds of race is comparable only to the policy of Hitler with regards to the Jews. Does enlightened Canada really want a blood purge?" A motion then introduced by CCF MP Angus MacInnis that the franchise be granted to all born and living in Canada was defeated by a vote 186 to 15.

BC, where the Japanese were concentrated, was the centre of race prejudice and violence. There, Liberal and Tory leaders alike openly paraded their racism. Even the **CCF News** took CCF leader Woodsworth to task for giving CCF opponents an issue to exploit, to which Woodsworth replied "undoubtedly in BC the application of our principles to Orientals is rather inconvenient... Does this mean that... opportunism should be our guide?"

At that time, Adachi points out, agitation for complete restriction of immigration was accompanied by a growing pressure for the expulsion of all Japanese. The 1938 federal convention of the Conservatives actually went on record for the complete expulsion of all Orientals from Canada. Ottawa's declaration of war against Japan, and the bombing of Pearl Harbor, despite a special 1940 government committee's dismissal of all charges of disloyalty and subversive activity on the part of Japanese Canadians, unleashed the forces of reaction, with racism in the forefront.

The King government announced its barring of Nisei from the call-up for Home Defence in 1940 on the grounds that it would be unwise to allow Nisei to have firearms. In the Spring of 1941 it carried out a compulsory registration. Following Pearl Harbor, 38 Japanese were interned, some 1,200 fishing boats owned or operated by naturalized citizens or Nisei were impounded, 59 Japanese language schools in BC were closed; and commencing with the CPR a campaign of dismissals of Japanese Canadians from employment, hooligan attacks against the properties and persons of Japanese Canadians proliferated.

With the government's act of mass evacuation off the BC coast in February 1942, as Adachi puts it: "hostility towards the resident Japanese was organized and concentrated as it never had been in preceding decades."

Adachi describes and documents the evacuation, the ripping apart of families, the loss of personal possessions and properties, the incarcerations in ghost towns and in work camps (among the photos is one of an internment camp showing inmates' uniforms with large red circles on the back to provide a target for camp guards) – these days of horror and infamy, in great detail.

The federal election campaign of Spring 1945, particularly in the BC constituencies was an orgy of racism, with leading Tories such as Howard Green, subsequently a cabinet minister, advocating permanent exclusion of Japanese from BC, if not all Canada. Cabinet Minister of Pensions and National Health Ian Mackenzie, vowed he would resign if his Liberal government allowed the Japanese to remain in BC: "If the Japs are in, I'm out." The Communist Party, advocating that labor adopt a no-strike pledge and busy splitting the CCF vote in favor of the Liberals joined the pack in the racist campaign.

In the spring of 1945, even as the war was coming to a close, King launched a program to disperse Japanese throughout the country, to segregate the loyal from the allegedly disloyal, and to repatriate the latter to Japan. Under three orders-in-council passed under the infamous War Measures Act which had expired on Jan. 1, 1946 but continued in force by orders-in-council under the National Transitional Emergency Powers Act, 10,347, among them 2,460 Canadian-born and 1,451 naturalized citizens, were deported to Japan.

The Cooperative Committee of Japanese Canadians and the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy, with the support of prominent liberals and radicals, hired Andrew Brewin (now the NDP foreign affairs critic) to challenge the legality of the deportations. When the King government announced the deportations orders repeal, after 4,000 evacuees had left, Brewin took up the property claims of the Japanese Canadians. Persons of Japanese race were barred from entering the coastal area of BC without an RCMP permit. As late as 1948, Adachi reports, a Japanese Canadian was sentenced to one year's hard labor for returning to the coast.

R.D.

The Renegade Revolutionaries by Harold E. Bronson, New Star Books, Vancouver, $2.95.

The author of this book is touted as holding an M.A. in Political Economy, a Ph.d. in Economics and being a teacher in Saskatoon. Its some 157 pages put on an elaborate show of scholarship, with a glossary, a selected bibliography, an index, with each chapter (Main Text) being preceded by a (Summary), copious quotations, references and extensive chapter notes. This pedantry is all carefully designed not to serve scholarship and truth but to give the lie an appearance of authenticity. It is a book of lies.

Bronson is not content to regurgitate all the lies concocted by Stalin and his GPU against Trotsky and the rest of Lenin's co-workers, which served to justify the imprisonment and slaughter of the cream of the Soviet peoples – now well established as the greatest frame-up in all history. He adds a few lies of his own. Thus this book which pretends to evaluate the political current that has become identified with Trotsky's name, rather than falling in the category of politics and sociology much more properly falls in the category of studies of mental disorders – the case of H.E. Bronson.

Just two examples: On page 70 Bronson writes, after a subhead: An All-or-nothing Lust for Power, "A basic distinction between Trotskyism and Lenin's Bolshevism was conceded by Deutscher. Trotsky, he wrote, was 'actuated by a lust for power and sticking to the maxim all-or-nothing, he refused not merely to serve as Lenin's deputy, but even to attend his normal duties!'" (10) This quotation so jarred with the scrupulous scholarship that the Polish historian Isaac Deutscher became known for, above all for his trilogy on Leon Trotsky, that one is compelled to check it out.

Chapter Four Notes, Number 10, on page 76 read: "Deutscher, The Prophet Unarmed, p. 115". There it is – one line of type, followed up, oddly enough, with another 9 lines referring to the views expressed in a totally different book by a totally different author, the anti-Bolshevik Bertram D. Wolfe.

Looking up page 115 in Deutscher's **The Prophet Unarmed**, instead of "Trotsky, he (Deutscher) wrote", as the liar Bronson claims, we read "Trotsky, they alleged was..." The "they" refers to Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev, who made the allegations about Trotsky. The next sentence reads: Then they (Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev) enumerated all the issues over which he had in recent years dissented from Lenin, but they passed over in silence, the fact that on nearly all these issues Lenin had in the end found himself in agreement with Trotsky."

And the other example. In a footnote to (29), on page 120, Bronson writes, "in Canada the Trotskyite

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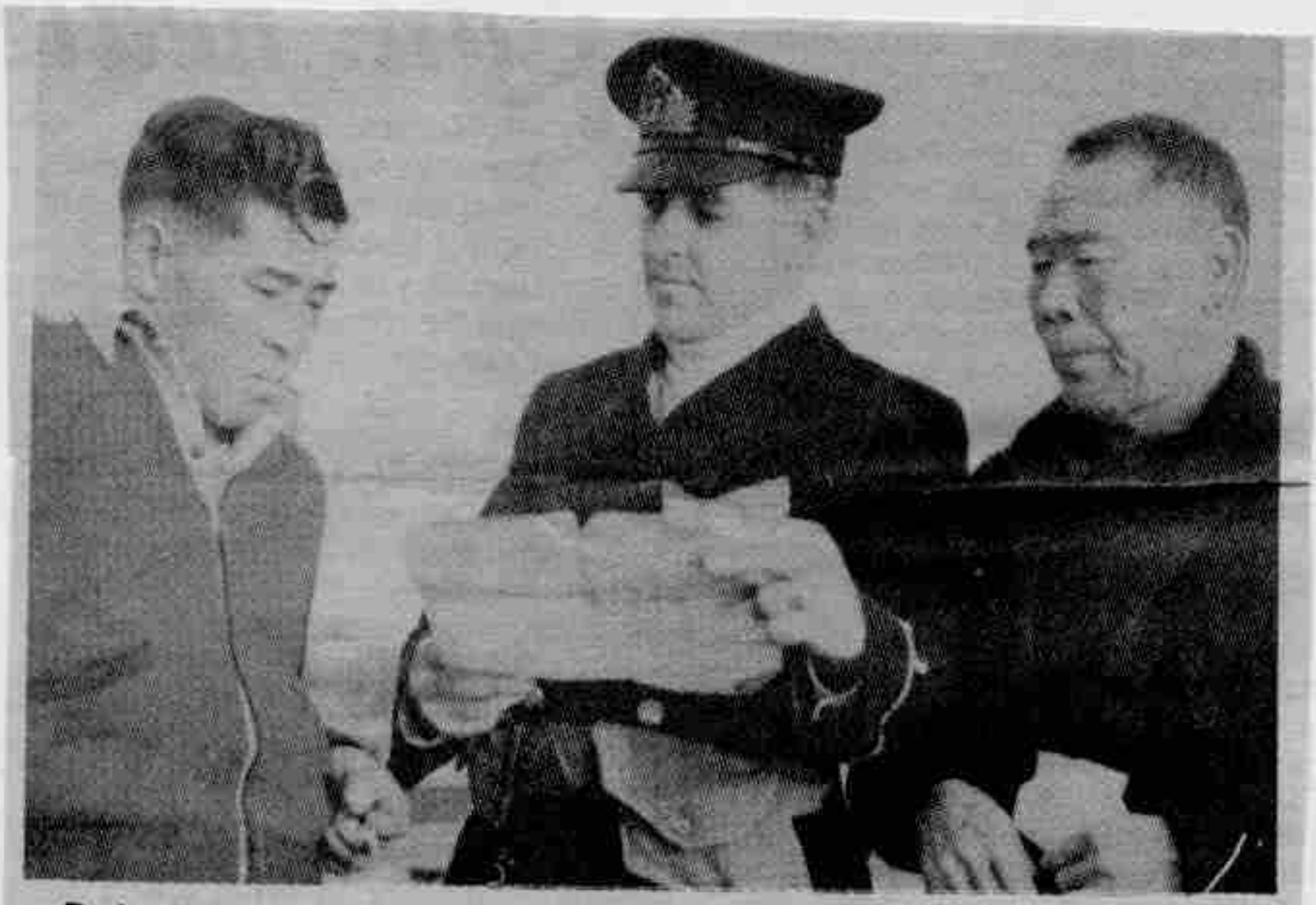

During WWII, thousands of Japanese-Canadians many of whom were second or third generation Canadians, were forcibly placed in internment camps in the interior of British Columbia. Thousands were subsequently deported to Japan.

Revolutionary Workers Party boasted that no Trotskyites could be found fighting in Spain (28). Note 28, on page 126, reads: **Labor Challenge**, June 5, 1972.

The article referred to, available on microfilm in the Toronto Public Reference Library, does not in any way boast that no Trotskyites could be found fighting in Spain. On the contrary it quotes Victor Hoare, who in his book **The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion**, noted that the Canadian Communist Party, which laid down the conditions for recruitment of volunteers, rigorously screened out any Trotskyists from enlisting for Spain.

And what more need be said about a book which, after lying about and slandering Trotskyism, then further insults its readers as this does on page 88 by referring to **Last Post** magazine as "neo-Trotskyite"; on page 17 with the comment "Neo-Trotskyites in the Waffle," and on page 122 writes of the Chinese "Liu Shao-chi's neo-Trotskyite bureaucracy."

Jack Scott and his associates in **New Star Publishers** should explain how such a book comes to appear on their list and why it stays there.

R.D.

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forward

Vol. 2 No. 8 - Aug. 1976

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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Santucho murdered

By the editors

The strategy of guerrilla warfare suffered a severe blow when one of its foremost exponents, Roberto Santucho, leader of the Argentine Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) was shot dead by army forces July 19th.

While we solidarize with the courage and dedication of Santucho, we must continue to take our distance from the unrealistic and dangerous strategy of the ERP.

Santucho and the ERP rejected the Leninist concept of party-building. This concept, which was epitomized by the Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union prior to its Stalinization, involved the systematic and conscious production of socialist cadres deeply rooted in all the mass organizations of the working class and its allies.

The practical consequences of guerrilla warfare strategy are aptly illustrated in the "Salustro affair". In the midst of a mass uprising in the early 1970's, which paralyzed the industrial centre of Cordoba through a general strike, the ERP kidnapped a Fiat executive, Salustro, thereby providing an excuse for the government to declare martial law in order to break the strike.

A mass vanguard party, rooted in the Cordoba workers' movement, would have sought to win leadership of the struggle through their direct involvement in it and by raising demands to widen the struggle and to generalize it. Distracted by its narrow militaristic strategy, the ERP was too blind to the mass mobilization of the working class.

Santucho failed to communicate to the forces within Argentina who through a long process, involving numerous experiences in daily confrontation, will eventually bury the capitalist class. He sought to skip all the intermediary steps and awaken a mass response through humiliating the bourgeoisie and acting as an example of courageous revolutionary struggle.

Thus Santucho's actions were never the organic expression of mass resentment. They merely constituted desperate acts of politically isolated individuals seeking to overcome that isolation through means which in reality increase it. Santucho, despite his dedication and courage, merely stood on the sidelines of the class struggle, winning the applause of the masses on occasion, but never building the bridges needed for common action.

This was the key lesson of the death of Che Guevera, the leading exponent of guerrilla warfare strategy. Out of rhythm with the internal processes of the Bolivian class struggle, he was a ready target for imperialism, with its numerical superiority and techniques of surveillance and combat.

The lesson of the Cuban revolution has been learned well by imperialism. The variety of unique circumstances which resulted in the Cuban revolution are unlikely to be repeated elsewhere. Any strategy which impels its adherents into unequal military confrontation with the forces of imperialism can only result in more unfortunate losses of the revolutionary vanguard.

Mars shot fizzles

"Talk about being blasé about space exploration, this was just about incredible," scientist J. Richard Keefe, long involved in the US space program proclaimed about the Viking I Mars flight. "To think it took over a year to get there. There's no question, this is a major scientific accomplishment, to pinpoint accurately your landing spot, to come down with a soft landing. And I think the population has become apathetic about the whole space program."

Why such apathy indeed? Reaching another planet, a few short years ago, was relegated to the realm of science fiction. It represented the realization of one of humanity's historic dreams.

The Mars shot is a glimmer of light from the future, showing what great conquests lie ahead for humanity when technology is harnessed systematically to pursue a human goal.

But the apathy is still there, because it is still considered utopian to dream of the abolition of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, disease, and all material forms of human misery. It is still considered fiction to think of science raising dramatically the standard of living of all humankind.

The Mars shot shows that the impediments to such a course are not technical. The resources of the US which were harnessed to reach Mars could just as readily be directed to solve our problems on earth.

The impediments to freeing science to meet age-old technological needs are social.

The productive capacity of capitalism is largely owned by the 500 largest corporations in the world, which dominate the industrial sectors of all advanced western countries, and, through imperialist networks, the underdeveloped countries. These corporations have interests of their own, different from those of working people.

First and foremost, these corporations are concerned about the survival of the "free enterprise" system, which means deploying their vast wealth and knowhow to create instruments of mass destruction. US technology is servicing the war machine: production of nuclear weapons and missiles, chemical warfare devices, submarines and amphibious military vehicles, weapons such as napalm and other instruments of mass destruction. The technological effort is being concentrated in destructive and socially useless and anti-human channels.

Furthermore, these corporations are concerned with their profit margins, which usually means placing human greed before human need.

It is not lack of knowhow but rather the capitalist system which prevents technology from serving human need. The profit motive and war are the masters of technology under capitalism. As long as that system lasts, apathy towards scientific achievements such as the Mars shot is inevitable.

FORWARD FORUMS

August 20 — SHOULD SOCIALISTS JOIN THE NDP?
Speaker: Harry Paine

August 27 — VIETNAM: one year after the rout of U.S. imperialism
Speaker: Dale Rich
53 Gerrard St., W
Toronto

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Forward Forums

Is nationalism reactionary?

By Paul Kellogg

The recent contribution to the debate in the Canadian left on the phenomenon of the upsurge of nationalist sentiment in the Canadian working class, **Imperialism and the National Question in Canada** by Steve Moore and Debi Wells, has been the subject of three important critiques appearing in Canadian socialist journals. These critiques provided the subject matter August 6, for the latest in the weekly Forward Forum series.

The speaker, Dale Ritch, past president of the student union at York University, refuted Moore and Wells' contention that Canada is (or is becoming) an independent imperialist power, agreeing in essence with the review of the book by Jack Warnock in a recent issue of **Canadian Dimension.** Warnock exposes the inadequacies of the book's investigation of the "facts" supporting the existence of a so-called Canadian "independent imperialism", and uses the very statistics with which Moore and Wells advance their thesis to prove that, on the contrary, the Canadian economy is so dominated by American capital, that it does not and cannot play an independent imperialist role.

The conclusion that Warnock draws – as does Ian Lumsden in his review which appeared in **Canadian Forum** – is that contrary to the contention of Moore and Wells, Canadian nationalism in this period, has a progressive dynamic, one that clearly exposes the class nature of Canadian society and poses socialism as the only possible solution, for the Canadian capitalists' subservience to the American imperialist rip-off of Canadian society – the root cause of Canadian nationalism.

As Ritch pointed out in his forum, concurring with Warnock, the significance of the Moore/Wells book in the debate on Canadian nationalism, lies not in any unique contribution it makes – in its arbitrary use of statistics and lack of any credible research, it is a very frustrating book to have to read – but in that it is one of the very few contributions from Canadian socialists who claim that Canada is an independent imperialist power.

In the month of July, the Forward Forums concentrated on the current crisis in the Third World. July 23, Gord Doctorow, organizer of the Socialist League, dealt with the current upsurge of struggles in South Africa. He made the case that the Black struggle to wrest basic democratic and human rights from the racist Vorster regime leads directly into the struggle for socialism, that indeed they could only be won when the apartheid regime is toppled and replaced with a society that abolishes the rule of capital, a society led by the working class.

The importance of South Africa is that it is the one country in all of Black Africa where the black working class has significant social weight.

The week before, Robert Kasher, chairman of the United Left Coalition at York University doing graduate work in third world studies, led a discussion revolving around the problem of underdevelopment in the third world. A central aspect of the talk was the success workers' states such as China have had tackling this problem as compared to a couhtry like India, still under the thumb of imperialist exploitation. However, with imperialist domination of the world economy, underdevelopment cannot be definitively eradicated until a world socialist revolution places all the resources of human productivity at the disposal of the oppressed peoples of the world.

The two preceding forums dealt with the question of the crisis of the world capitalist economy with an economic analysis by Murray Dowson on July 9, followed on July 16 by a forum entitled "Reform or Revolution" where speaker Ross Dowson dealt with the anti-working-class dangers and pitfalls of a reformist approach to the problems created by capitalism, putting forward a revolutionary socialist approach.

The three upcoming forums in the month of August carry on in the Forward tradition, presenting socialist analyses of issues and events of concern and educational value to socialists active in the struggle for socialism in Canada. August 13, a critique of detente and the current Stockholm peace petition being circulated by the Communist Party, taking up the utopian and illusory character of these projects of the CP, will be presented by Calvin Johansson, trade unionist and NDP activist.

The following week, August 20, Harry Paine, prominent activist in CARAL, long-time NDPer and socialist, asks the question "Should Leninists join the NDP?" affirming the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky on mass labor party formations such as the NDP.

Finally, August 27, the forum will be a tribute to the first anniversary of the defeat of American imperialism in Vietnam, a discussion of the dynamics of the Indochinese Revolution one year after, and a theoretical explanation of the accelerated tempo of socialist planning.

forward Vol.2 No.8 - Aug. 1976

Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

Ottawa is now pulling the rug out from under the official New Brunswick opposition to US oil interests who have been pressing to build a giant oil refinery at Eastport, Maine, on the New Brunswick border. The opposition which has been blocking the project, which until recently included Maine's Governor Longley, has been based on the fear of an oil spill disaster. To get to the projected refineries tankers would have to pass through Canadian waters which are so treacherous that a pollution disaster has been thought to be sooner or later inevitable, and with devastating impact on Canada as the spill would be swept by tides right up the Bay of Fundy.

But the fourth annual meeting of the New England governors and Eastern Canadian premiers heard US President Ford's energy chief say that the refinery is absolutely necessary "for current energy needs." Ottawa's Energy Minister Alister Gillespie responded that the project "can probably be worked out."

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On the west coast, at Bangor, Washington, just south of the Canadian border, the US military is going ahead with the construction of a massive base to house submarines armed with nuclear warheads. Each submarine, which will be delivered in 1978-79, will carry 24 missiles, each equipped with up to 20 nuclear warheads with a range of 4,600 miles.

Back in 1974, with the MIRV-armed Polaris submarines, the US claimed to have enough nuclear weapons to level all 218 Russian cities with a population of 100,000 or more – 36 times over. Now with the Trident, with their greater range and increased accuracy – they can be steered to 100 yards of target – these same cities can be annihilated 70 times over.

This awesome destructive power, based just 60 miles south of the BC capital, Victoria, and less than 100 miles from Vancouver, makes the entire area a prime target in any war.

The May 3rd **Macleans** carried an article on this situation titled "A Canadian response to the Trident: 'No incineration without representation.'" William Epstein, a director from 1950 to 1973 of the UN disarmament division, notes that Canadian Defence Minister Richardson told a protest group that the Trident is a deterrent to war and his government plans no protest over the location of the base. The author replies: "Trident is no deterrent, it's a catalyst, a game of roulette that has no winner."

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While continuing inflation, mounting unemployment and environmental issues are the most pressing concerns of Canadians – only slightly more than 4% of a national sample mentioned foreign investment as "the most pressing problem" – nontheless US domination of the economy continues to be a nagging concern of the majority.

The latest poll, from an analysis performed by the International Business Studies Research Unit at the University of Windsor, records that over a 7-year period the expression of a "negative view of US investment in the Canadian economy has risen from 36% in 1969-70 to a high of 55% in 1973-74." While it levelled off at 51% in 1974-75 and 52% in the most recent survey, a majority of the Canadian people continues to express concern over the implications of such investment.

The three major reasons for considering US ownership bad were (1) Canada/Canadians should control their own business/economy – 34%, (2) Profits/money leaves the country; does not benefit Canada; US profits from Canada's resources – 33.2%, (3) Canadians do it themselves/alone; should be more independent (not depend on US) – 21.8%.

Only 25% of the 1975-76 national sample replied that foreign investment was not a serious problem. The proportion of respondents viewing foreign investment as an immediate threat was highest in Quebec (43%). It was the lowest in the Prairie Provinces (34%).

When External Affairs Minister MacEachen officially introduced the much touted "Third Option" in Canadian foreign policy – which deals not with ownership or control of industry but with closer trade ties with Europe to lessen those with US – he cited poll figures showing that 88% of Canadians thought it important to have more control over the economy and that 2 out of 3 Canadians considered the level of US investment as too high. However, the past three studies show that not even a quarter of the respondents supported the Third Option.

Naturally, the idea of public ownership of Canada's resources and a sharing with the American people, free from corporate profiteering, was not posed by the pollsters. The decisive majority favored the status quo insofar as Canada's trade and industrial relationships with other countries were concerned – with a minority actually favoring closer economic ties with the US.

●

Along with opposition to US corporate control of the Canadian economy goes opposition to many of the symbols of its domination. Efforts to have the name of a mountain in Banff National Park changed back from Mount Eisenhower to Castle Mountain appear to have been decisively rebuffed – by the intercession, no less, of the federal energy and resources minister, the Right Honorable A. Gillespie.

According to him, along with "freedom, steadfastness and courage," the name of a US militarist and president on a Canadian mountain "represents patriotism."

●

When the ex-Liberal cabinet minister Walter Gordon, that exception that proves the rule that the Canadian capitalist class and their political representatives are not nationalist, received his appointment to the Order of Canada, he stated that "Ten years ago it would be unthinkable. But public opinion on the subject of Canadian independence has changed dramatically in the interval. Now a clear majority of Canadians believe more should be done to reduce the power and influence of foreign-controlled enterprises in this country."

He kept his silence on the decision by Harlequin Books to shift the printing and marketing of some 50 million books to the US, which will mean the loss of about 100 jobs here. Last year the **Toronto Star** picked up a 52% interest in Harlequin and has since placed its owner and its president on the board. Gordon is on the Board of Directors of the **Star** itself.

But he did take advantage of the opportunity to take a jab at Ottawa for not taking over the US-owned Imperial Oil colossus.

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PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

forward

Vol. 2, No. 9. September 1976 Toronto 20 Cents

Vol. 2 No. 9 - Sept. 1976

labor challenges controls

By Ross Dowson

As October 14 approaches, the first anniversary of the day when the Trudeau government, with the support of the Progressive Conservatives and Social Credit, set into operation its freeze of workers' wages and its far reaching program of cutbacks in social legislation, the ranks of the organized labor movement are mobilizing what is already certain to be the most significant action in Canadian labor's turbulent struggle for social justice.

At Burnaby BC, the first of a series of provincial rallies to be held right across the country, the response of some 350 union officers representing the elected executive of the BC Federation, 15 labor councils, and a number of key unions, was so militant that Secretary-treasurer Len Guy declared that all "BC will shut down. The ferries are going down – transit is going down – Pacific Press will be out – and also the railways." The meeting decided that each labor council in BC will establish its own committee, as will local unions, "to plan effective shutdowns of operations, and rank and file participation in the demonstrations." Guy, who expressed preference for calling the October 14 action a general strike, said the protest will last "for a full 24 hours", with mass demonstrations accompanying the plant walkouts in all major BC centres. Full-time union officials are donating their day's pay.

"By imposing wage controls," said Guy, "the government and its political allies have awakened in the labor movement a sleeping giant. After October 14 Canadian politics will never again be the same."

As we go to press, the leadership of the over two million strong CLC is holding organizing meetings in Edmonton, Regina, Winnipeg, St. John's, Toronto, Halifax and Moncton. The Metro Toronto Labor Council has beat the gun by already endorsing a provisional program of action for October 14 which will see plant gate picketing from 6 to 9 a.m. followed by a mass rally, possibly in the 50,000 seat CNE stadium, then assemblies in local union halls, and after 5, "happenings", for civil servants, school teachers and others who wish to support the one day strike in some other manner. A staff has been struck off and a 15 cent per member levy set to build the $20,000 treasury agreed upon.

In order to "broaden the scope of the protest" the CLC leadership has designated October 14 a "Day of Protest."

Through its projected October 14 actions, organized labor hopes to bring into the arena the hundreds of thousands who are not members of unions but who by that very fact have been all the more vulnerable and are in fact the chief victims of the shameless legislation that has been enacted from every level of government under the guise of restraining inflation.

It is appealing to the women of Canada who constitute 40% of the labor force but of which only 22% are organized. Already shoved into the lowest wage sectors of the economy, paid far less than men even when the job is substantially the same, now, with the setting of percentage guidelines by the government, women are locked into a continuation of increasingly inequitable pay scales. It is appealing to housewives who are being driven to despair trying to stretch household funds in the face of price hoists on every front.

Labor is appealing to old age pensioners whose savings are disappearing before their eyes, while cost of housing, in the form of taxes or rent, food, clothes, continues to push more and more of their number into abject penury. With the cutbacks of funds heretofore allocated to health and medicare, the closure of clinics and hospital facilities, they are increasingly being thrust to depend on their own vanishing resources.

It is appealing to post-secondary students who more than ever before due to cutbacks and the brutal curtailment of government projects looked in vain for summer employment. In July, the national unemployment registered rate for young people under 25 was nearly 13%, with thousands in despair not even bothering to register. One in five Newfoundland young people and 15% in Quebec were unable to find a job. Faced with increased fees, and rising costs of maintenance, thousands will be unable to finance themselves in the coming year and will not return to school or will drop out during the course of the year.

It is appealing to the working people as a whole, the unemployed, the working poor, every sector, to join in this beginning of a mighty resistance to this vicious class legislation. Organized labor has taken the initiative; its mighty battalions are moving into action. It is important to the success of this struggle that all women's organizations, pensioners' associations, student bodies, community organizations of every type – fighting against cutbacks in daycare facilities, against rent gouging and price hoists, get into the preparations, mobilize their supporters in the mass assemblies, the street actions, whatever the forms the October 14 protests take on in their community.

October 14 can be a mighty breakthrough in the forward march to smash the wage controls, defeat the cutback legislation, and wrest "power from business and its government in the interest of labor," to institute "a system of national and economic planning" and "to forge the power to create a social democracy", the declared aim of Labor's Manifesto.

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Damien court fight key civil rights issue

09_01-2

By Ken Napier

John Damien's court action against the Ontario Racing Commission (ORC) for dismissing him from his job as horseracing steward (judge) because of his homosexuality is entering into the final pretrial stage.

The court action, launched last year, after Damien refused an offer of $1,700 and a letter of recommendation in return for a quiet exit, has become the focal point for a cross-Canada campaign to include coverage of gays in provincial human rights codes. The case has drawn broad public support, including endorsation from the Toronto and District Labor Council, lawyers' groups and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

The case has been hotly contested in the courts, with the defendants using numerous appeals and other procedural devices to exhaust and undermine Damien's support. With limitless funds and high-powered lawyers, no stone has been left unturned in their effort to block Damien from winning his job back.

The Ontario Racing Commission's determination to stop Damien's legal initiatives was clearly illustrated in its intervention in a separate court application launched by Damien against the Ontario Human Rights Commission (OHRC) for refusing to deal with his complaint. Despite a broad appeal signed by 50 prominent civil libertarians, the OHRC refused to investigate Damien's case on a technicality, claiming that Damien was not discriminated against on the grounds of "sex", which the OHRC has defined narrowly to mean gender. The Racing Commission intervened in this action and began to launch what is known among lawyers as a fishing expedition, giving them a second opportunity to grill Damien. As a result, Damien's lawyers had no choice other than dropping the court action. Even after the case was dropped, the Racing Commission tried to force Damien to answer hundreds of questions which were totally irrelevant. The Supreme Court blocked his underhanded maneuver to take cheap shots at Damien.

"Twenty years of service wiped out and no way to earn a living. They wouldn't even give me a hearing. I felt I couldn't just walk away without fighting it... I wanted to make things easier for the thousands of ordinary gay people who may be subject to the same treatment", said Damien at the time of his firing.

Fully cognizant of the importance of public sympathy to Damien's fight for his rights, the ORC has attempted to intimidate the news media from covering the case. When **Weekend Magazine**, a publication inserted in the weekend editions of close to 30 daily newspapers across Canada, published a feature article on Damien's case earlier this year, the ORC launched court proceedings for libel against each of these papers, as well as against Damien and the author of the article. Though none of these suits has been proceeded with, the threat of court action still lingers in this overt attempt to silence the press.

Ironically, the **Weekend Magazine** article has been a focus of much criticism within the gay movement as well. The May/June issue of **Body Politic**, a Toronto-based gay paper, carried an article attacking the **Weekend Magazine** article for marketing Damien to make him acceptable to the public.

The article attacks Damien's "middle class" lifestyle and the emphasis on dignity in the **Weekend Magazine** article, complaining that homosexuality was not put up front in the story. In a letter written to **Body Politic** by Damien's lawyer, Harry Kopyto, which was refused publication, Kopyto argued: "If you accept that the struggle for full civil rights and legal protection is the most important and the first step for gay liberationists, of what relevance is a person's lifestyle?" Kopyto outlines the significance of Damien's case as a legal precedent and the power and authority of those being sued. He points out that the fear that Damien could get his job back without changing the system shows a misunderstanding of how the case *is* changing the system.

Kopyto points out that insecurities about the civil libertarian emphasis in the case reflects a lack of understanding of the importance of democratic struggles, a tendency to confront rather than to convince non-gays and a refusal to actually get involved in a case that has the potential of winning. The insistence on having the public embrace Damien's homosexuality, and not only his human rights, is a false counterposition that undermines the efforts needed to achieve success.

The Damien Defence Committee, which has failed to incorporate representation outside of the gay community, has suffered some disorientation in recent months as a consequence of the currency of the **Body Politic** viewpoint, and the long effort required to see the case to a successful conclusion.

With the trial on the horizon, the Defense Committee needs funds to pay legal fees and disbursements. Without the money necessary to proceed to a lengthy trial of one of the most hotly contested and expensive court actions in Canada, Damien may be forced to defeat.

However, the decision of thirty-three gay organizations at a national conference in Toronto over the Labor Day weekend to go all out to raise the funds suggests that this will not happen.

forward Vol.2 No.9 - Sept. 1976

Editor: Wayne Roberts

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New labor horizons

There is no doubt that Labor's October 14 Day of Protest will be a massive success. There is much to be done during the intervening days, but it will be done. For the first time in Canadian history – from Prince Rupert BC to St. John's Newfoundland, and all major centres in between, the overwhelming majority of the forces of labor organized in the CLC, the Quebec Centrals and the independents, will down tools – and with the support of students, housewives and pensioners, will demonstrate their opposition to the AIB wage freeze in the streets and at mass assemblies.

BC Federation of Labor Secretary Treasurer Guy has declared that "the government and its allies have, by imposing wage controls, awakened in the labor movement a sleeping giant." Ontario Federation of Labor President Archer has declared it will be an historic day, comparable to the famous Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

Those who for months jeered that it was only the CLC leadership, in their concern about their own petty interests and without the support of their members, who were making all the noise, have been quickly changing their tune. They are now echoing president of the Employers Council of BC Bill Hamilton's attempt to ridicule this gigantic democratic protest, as only repeating "what everyone already knows – that labor does not support the anti-inflation program." Others are saying that it is just so much letting off of steam – that this day of protest is so inadequate as to be hardly worthy of support, not to speak of involvement.

Will it smash the wage controls? Hardly. Will it bring down the government? Not at all likely. While the Liberals' popularity has dropped to a new low, the controls have the support of the other boss parties, the Progressive Conservatives and Social Credit. The limited strikes at Thompson and Elliot Lake forced the AIB to reverse its rollbacks and October 14 could result in the government taking steps to modify the controls – making some concessions. But October 14 has a significance that will far transcend the immediate responses of the federal and provincial governments and their Big Business bosses.

The October 14 Day of Protest is a strike against the government – a government which had a mandate of opposition to the expressed intention of the Progressive Conservative Party to impose controls. It is a political strike – and one of cross-Canada proportions. It is a strike that is directed not against a single company or cartel but against the political stooges of corporate power and the entire state apparatus designed to uphold its interests. It has the almost total support of the united trade union movement, all the way up to its highest elected officials and all the way down to its smallest *pro tem* committee in its smallest union local. It is not coming out of orders from on high but out of a swelling opposition to iniquitous anti-working class legislation that has been imposed within the concept of Trudeau's "New Society" in which there can no longer be expectations of social betterment.

It is far more than a protest. It is open defiance, not in the form of polite applause for a militant address, but in the streets, right across the country through the open and public commitment of its participants.

This Day of Protest will not give impetus to class collaboration on the government and shop level in the spirit of the "tripartism" musings of elements of the CLC leadership, as some appear to fear. Neither the US corporate elite who control the strategic heights of the economy, nor their Canadian capitalist junior partners, nor the Progressive Conservatives, Social Credit or the Liberals, are geared to such a concept. Such concepts take root when "make-capitalism-work" Social Democratic parties are in or approaching office and there are powerful unions to be kept in line. Today Ottawa cannot visualize tripartite bodies where labor has any other role than consultative – bodies of the very type that the CLC leadership demonstratively withdrew from this spring.

The Day of Protest has legitimized the violation of contracts which heretofore only bosses have violated. It has counselled defiance of the slave-labor Crown Employees' Collective Bargaining Act with its punitive fines against individual members and unions. And it has struck a blow at the Big Labor syndrome by placing the unions at the forefront of the pensioners', women's, students' and community organizations' cause.

The October 14 Day of Protest is a day, not of class collaboration, but its exact opposite, a day of class conflict that projects an entire perspective of increasing class struggles and the mobilization of such forces that can win victories.

As a strike against the government, as a political strike, it brings to the very forefront the question of power and the New Democratic Party – which the CLC has built as its political arm. When the Schreyer government capitulated and the Blakeney government waffled under federal pressure, CLC leaders expressed the need for a much fuller union participation in the party – as the Saskatchewan Federation president put it, "to get our people in and set their policies and get them in line." For the millions involved in and watching the developing struggle, the 100% support by the NDP's federal leadership means political action toward NDP governments. This day of protest can be the beginning for the NDP to break out beyond its present base of support and make a qualitative leap forward.

October 14 Day of Protest is upon us. What will be the next immediate task? There is no doubt that militant and united action against AIB rollbacks will be projected. But above all, that will be decided by the thousands of new youthful layers of unionists who have moved out and behind the preparations that will make October 14 a turning point in the onward march of the working class.

from our selection on TRADE UNIONISM

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forward Vol. 2 No. 9 – Sept. 1976

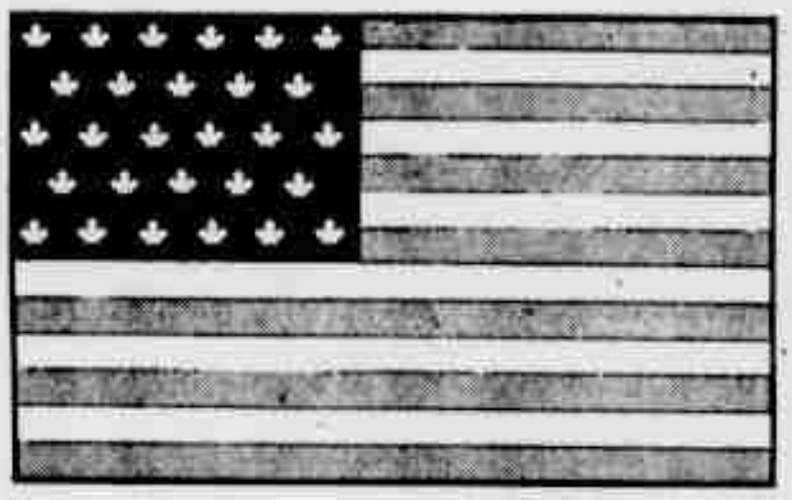
Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

"This is an intolerable situation. Surely your government can do something to stop this blatant abuse of the Canadian public interest," writes an employee of Imperial Oil to Prime Minister Trudeau.

His appeal that the Canadian government should take a stand was attached to inter-company correspondence between the offices of the imperialist oil colossus Exxon, and the patents department of its wholly-owned Canadian branch plant operation, Imperial Oil. Imperial Oil's executive vice-president J. G. Livingstone admits the letters are genuine.

The correspondence from Exxon Research and Engineering Company of Florham Park, New Jersey,



affirmed that all patent rights and technical information derived from research by Canadian technicians in the employ of Imperial Oil – and Ottawa has handed out millions of dollars of taxpayers' funds to finance such research – are the property of Exxon.

In one of the letters, N. V. Hakala, president of Exxon research, declares: "Patent rights... are vested in Exxon Research and Engineering Company (ER and E) without regard to whether the work out of which the invention arose was performed by itself or by an affiliate, and this is so whether or not the cost of the research is borne by ER and E."

It is Exxon USA which decides whether a patent researched and established in Canada by Canadian technicians is developed, and if it is, whether it will be developed in Canada with its present high rate of unemployment or somewhere else in their far-flung empire. Anything that Exxon officialdom decides to allocate from their research pool to the Canadian operations is charged, at what they think fit, against the operating costs and taxable profits of their Canadian branch plant.

"Isn't this an absolutely incredible situation," asks Imperial Oil's "disloyal" employee. The Toronto **Star** does not report Ottawa's reply.

●

A British study of patent systems, conducted by Cambridge University (England) refers specifically to the Canadian situation; "Some 94% of (Canada's) patents are issued to foreigners, reflecting the dominant position of American-originating technology in Canadian industry. Canada finds itself more in the position of a less-developed economy tending to import technology, than of a highly industrialized economy like the United Kingdom where 30% of patents originate domestically.

"It is therefore very understandable that the patent system should be found on balance to operate against the interests of the Canadian economy – tending to reduce competition, limit manufactured exports and facilitate foreign control of Canadian industry, while offering relatively little compensation in terms of faster technological progress."

The facts of the matter are so obvious that Ottawa struck off a team under the Consumer and Corporate Affairs Department whose investigations and recommendations have now been released in two volumes, called: Working Paper on Patent Laws Revision.

Among its recommendations is one that would modify the present 17 year monopoly granted by a patent to 9 years – with a 5 year extension if the invention has been put into operation in Canadian industry. Meanwhile Big Business and its Ottawa partners exhort Canadian workers to toil longer and harder, accept lower wages, and consume less to keep Canada competitive on the world market.

●

Oscar Zanatta president of the 39,000 member Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario, while expressing concern that some "are turning nationalism into a dirty word", is worried.

"Any country which can produce the Candu (nuclear power system) can do anything," he notes. But nonetheless, he deplored, "we don't see imported technology as draining jobs, but as bringing jobs." According to Zanatta, who is plant engineer at Atlas Steel (controlled by Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation), foreign owned corporations deciding to expand in Canada almost never consider engineering skills in Canada but bring in foreign engineers who may specify the purchase of foreign equipment.

In the joys of being chosen as a location, the costs are likely to be forgotten, but they are heavy, he says. "Just on what we could discover about imported blueprints and drawings we probably lose the jobs of 10,000 individual engineers. You can probably multiply that by seven when you think in terms of support structures and employment. That's 70,000 jobs and it only covers part of it."

●

When Toronto's Blue Jays (Labatt's Blue – get it?) start to play in the American League next season, they won't have any of those super baseball players from Cuba on the team.

"We looked into it but there is nothing we can do," says general manager Bavasi.

Canada has diplomatic relations with Cuba. But the US does not, and the commissioner has ruled that no Cuban players can be brought in until it has signed formal relations.

Bavasi also reported that he scouted the Cuban teams at the world amateur baseball championship but couldn't hook in a defector.

●

A few years back there was speculation that we were witnessing the beginning of the end of US supremacy as a world power. Unable to deny the increasing domination of US imperialism over the Canadian economy, some predicted rising interimperialist rivalries would bring a halt to the process of US domination of Canada, and of Canada-US integration, and would actually allow the Canadian capitalist class to establish its control of the Canadian economy. This was to be achieved by a pullback and weakening of US interests, the entry of rival Japanese and West German capitalist interests or a combination of both.

However it seemed apparent that whatever the difficulties confronting the US as the supreme imperialist power, these difficulties, if in a different way, also confronted its weaker rivals and it would retain its relative supremacy, on a world scale. As for the Canadian economy, there was no possibility of the US losing its grip to Canadian capital interests. All this barring a successful socialist revolution in an advanced sector of the globe.

This issue of **New Left Review** contains a highly relevant article by James Petras and Robert Rhodes entitled "US Imperialist Resurgent. It is obtainable through Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. W., Toronto. $2.90 plus postage.

forward Vol.2 No.9 Sept. 1976 09-01-5

Forward Forums offer discussion on key issues

By Bill Shier

As the labor movement mounts it most significant offensive in Canadian history, broaching far-reaching challenges that are required to transform society, the need for militants to assess, discuss, debate and clarify their perspective is greater than ever. Toronto Forward Forums attempt to provide a format for these discussions every Friday night at eight p.m. at 53 Gerrard Street West.

The forums regularly cover a wide range of Canadian and world issues that pose the problems and possibilities before the working class movement. Through prepared presentations and a follow-up period of open and lively discussion, they attempt to provide a framework in which militants can come to grips with the way forward.

Forums slated for September include a presentation by Ross Dowson on the Sociology of Trade Unions, focussing on the historic positions of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and the diverging positions within the Canadian left today. Among other things, the forum will take up the positions of Stan Aronowitz, recently introduced to Canadian readers through **Canadian Dimension**.

As the countdown proceeds toward the Day of Protest, Forward Forums will be sponsoring a panel of activists who will present their views on the tasks before the labor movement. Other forums will be dealing with events connected with the women's movement and the NDP, and questions of international politics.

For more information, or to be included on the mailing list, call 595-1284.

Meaning of the Pan-Canadian October 14th Day of Protest

forward
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Schreyer's illusions get [illegible] by realities of [illegible]

By Paul Kane
NDP Pro[illegible]
gro[illegible]

Labor's future in new found unity

By the editors

After October 14, Canada will never be the same.

For the first time, key sectors of the entire Canadian economy, from one coast to another, have been brought to a paralyzing halt. The workers in the basic steel plants, the giant auto factories and the larger fabricating plants, the major mines, the larger pulp, paper, lumber mills, all the postal services, essential transportation facilities and important sections of government administration, numbering well over a million, walked off the job for 24 hours.

This general strike united in one powerful movement the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled of all kinds. While called by the 2,300,000 strong Canadian Labor Congress it fused together in a common action all unionists, regardless of affiliation. And for the first time, the Quebec workers were in coordinated action with the rest of the Canadian union movement.

The trade unions put themselves at the head of this broader mass action with the central aim of smashing the wage freeze imposed by the Liberal Federal government, in alliance with the Progressive Conservatives and Socreds just one year ago. At the same time they gave the lie to the boss propaganda that the union struggles do nothing but serve the bread and butter interests of their own members, by providing the framework for a broader social action. In answer to the CLC call, the pan-Canadian demonstrations encompassed thousands of members of the post-secondary student federations, day care activists, senior citizens, tenants and members of numerous other community organizations, widening it into a struggle against the savage cutbacks in social services that have been enforced at the federal and all the provincial and municipal levels of government.

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Editor: Wayne Roberts

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A massive social movement

Thereby the October 14 actions transcended the struggle against the wage freeze and assumed the character of a massive social movement taking up the varied grievances and causes of all the victims of the capitalist system.

October 14 was not only a political strike of the most massive scope in Canadian history, but it was a strike on all the major social problems confronting every element of the working class. It was a strike not against individual corporations, but against the capitalist class as a whole; not just against Trudeau, but against the political stooges of capitalism in every level of government, and against the total system itself.

The struggle that commenced one year ago, culminating in October 14, has shaken up and set off new alignments in every social and political formation and institution in the country. Everyone and everything has been put to a harsh test.

After the Liberals had opposed the Tory election campaign for controls – and despite the considered judgement of the most eminent economists in the academic world that the controls would have no effect on the impact of stagflation, and even the admission of Labor Minister Munro himself that wages are not the source of inflation, and such warnings as the director of Research for the Economic Policy Committee of the C.D. Howe Research Institute that singling labor as the villain causing inflation is "incorrect and counter-positive" – the Trudeau government nonetheless ploughed blindly ahead. It continued to sweep more and more workers under the wage freeze, imposing an increasing number of rollbacks, fines and penalties – and at each complaint eased off the token restrictions on the profiteering of the corporations and interest gouging of the banks.

From first ridiculing labor's opposition as so much bluster, the leading spokesmen of the government and its defenders veered to threatening would-be strikers and protesters with punitive actions. Upon the failure of these efforts to convince any sizeable body that to protest is illegal, religious leaders such as United Churchman Rev. W. Clarke joined in to pronounce a walk-out even for one day, as "substantially immoral" because the workers rights as yet "are not being destroyed." Labor Minister Munro even resorted to advising the CLC leadership, in an aside during a speech to a

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We will all be tested

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union convention, that they are setting off processes in the unions that would undermine their own authority.

Leading Big Business spokesmen who had first advised against the imposition of controls, when they were once clamped into place, urged labor to submit to them. As the controls have been heading into increasing difficulties and provoking widening opposition, the same interests are now pressing for an early end. This has found the Progressive Conservatives, who first projected controls only to have them coopted by the Liberals, now also urging their early removal.

There is no question that a key element in the crisis that now confronts the Liberal Party is this War Measures Act imposed on workers' wages that revealed its contempt for the democratic process and its fundamental anti-working class character as never before.

The New Democratic Party, which organized labor was instrumental in bringing into existence, has also been put to the test. While the NDP federal leadership solidly aligned itself with labor's opposition to controls from the start, NDP Manitoba Premier Schreyer's acceptance of the essential concept of controls under a capitalist government, and Saskatchewan NDP leader Blakeney's waffling, seriously compromised the party. The fact that national leader Broadbent has placed the party in the forefront of the CLC anti-controls campaign, and that numerous riding association banners appeared in the Oct. 14 demonstrations will not brush aside concern in party ranks as to how such a split could develop, and its political implications. The whole experience confirms to the hilt the conclusion drawn by many labor leaders that the unions can no longer afford to stand on the sidelines but their ranks must flood into the NDP to more firmly link it to labor's cause.

When the trade union leadership commenced the struggle against controls that tossed the entire collective bargaining process onto the scrap heap, they had no real concept of where they were going.

Nearly every leading figure had occasion to publicly disavow even the idea of general strike. But as the number of negotiated settlements were stalled and piled up in the AIB administrative machine and the number of rollbacks increased and became more outrageous, shifts started to take place. The CBRT leadership publicly moved over en bloc. Leaders such as McDermott of Auto revised their position. Officers who had never before so much as given utterance to a radical idea started to talk and then gear their unions into action.

Some secondary leaders made radical words, while, like the Toronto CUPE leadership, they negotiated for and signed their locals under guide-line contracts. While it is true that the top CLC leadership have come through this whole first stage of the struggle with a new credibility, large numbers of their hangers-on have become discredited and thousands of fresh young militants have been brought to a heightened understanding of the need and problems of building a new militant class struggle leadership in the unions.

Along with the wage freeze Trudeau dumped his much touted "Just Society" and proclaimed a "New Society". The New Society's projection of curbs and cutbacks against the rising expectations of the Canadian people for a better life, caused the CLC leadership for the first time to project a program, in the form of **Labor's Manifesto.**

The October 14 demonstrations took place within the strategy projected by this manifesto adopted by the CLC convention and the discussions that have flowed from it. While containing such musings as business and government making labor a "full" partner in decisions of such matters as the control of capital's investment decisions so that they serve the interests of the working class, and the redressing of this country's unacceptable record in redistributing income, the program nonetheless projects the Canadian labor movement forward – along the path to power.

It projects the need for a system of national social and economic planning and calls for the establishment of a socialist democracy in Canada.

Thus October 14 poses the fundamental question confronting the working people – the need to escalate their struggles against capitalism in the direction of replacing it with a new society of peace and plenty called socialism.

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What awaits labor and CLC Manifesto?

By Ross Dowson

The mobilization of labor's power against government attempts to foist the crisis of the capitalist system on labor's back marks a giant advance in the struggle for social justice which will set off whole series of chain reactions. But whatever else comes out of October 14 it is obvious that what has become known as tripartism, which the CLC leadership has been projecting at recent union conventions, will get nowhere whatsoever.

The post-October 14 period will see even a stepping up of ploys and gestures in the direction of labor from Labor Minister Munro and Prime Minister Trudeau. It is even probable that Tory leader Joe Clark, as he calls for unlimited corporate profits as being non-inflationary, will be nervously making eyes at and even advances to labor. There will be conferences, think-tanks, with invitations to labor, galore, even lavish suppers with exchanged intimacies and confidences, later, over brandy and cigars at 24 Sussex Street. But they will not transcend the level of consultation which, the CLC leadership rejected with justified indignation this spring as they dramatically pulled out of the Economic Council of Canada and the Canadian Labor Relations Council.

There certainly won't be what executive vice-president Shirley Carr described before a Quebec City union convention as "full partnership" of the CLC "with government and business in national planning of economic and social policies," or even a beginning in that direction. And there won't be what CLC Secretary Treasurer Don Montgomery told a Montreal convention **Labor's Manifesto** called for: "an equal share by labor, business and government in the decision-making powers over econ-

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Gov't provokes postal workers

Less than a year ago, the Trudeau government gave the postal workers a vicious working over. Working in a high profile public service, post office employees and their union were cynically selected out by the Big Business government to further inflate the myth of the "greedy", the "public-be-damned" unions.

Suddenly, only ten days before Labor's Day of Protest and its successes in establishing that labor's cause is that of all working people, postal officials arrogantly declared that they would accept no decisions from a committee of adjudication they disapproved of. The union responded to this provocation with a series of rotating protest strikes, forcing the government to retreat — until after October 14. Then, organized labor must give the postal workers its all out support.

Ont, B.C. unions drive to organize bank workers

The profit-fat bankers are faced with a serious attempt on the part of their staffs to join the ranks of organized labor. A drive to organize the 131,860 employees in some 7,000 chartered bank branches is under way from two centres.

The small independent Service Office and Retail Workers Union of Canada, which comes out of the women's movement, has succeeded in forming three locals of its United Bankworkers in Vancouver and the Island. Its 100 members, employed in 11 bank branches of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, the Bank of Nova Scotia and the Bank of Montreal, have applied for certification.

The drive in southwestern Ontario got underway when bankworkers in Simcoe and Port Dover approached the Canadian Chemical Workers Union (CCWU) and elected its president, Robert Stewart, as president of the Canadian Union of Bank Employees. The CCWU was formed when its top officers were fired for their support of Canadian trade union autonomy by the top brass of the US-based International Chemical Workers Union. CUBE has formed three locals that are applying for certification.

Over 72% of bank employees are women who get an average wage of about $7,500. Only one bank in Canada is now organized – the Montreal City and District Savings Bank, which signed an agreement in 1968. The banks will no doubt attempt to block certification with the claim that branch bargaining units are too small. But the heightened social consciousness among women and the militancy that is developing around labor's struggle against the wage freeze promises success in union attempts to get a foot in the door to open up the struggle, not only for better wages, but to challenge many other longstanding management perogatives. Ironically, Ottawa's wage freeze makes it difficult for the banks to grant a hefty wage boost which has been traditionally practiced to block unionization.

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What awaits labor and CLC manifesto?

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omic and social planning, manpower decisions and all forms of income, including investments, prices and profits."

No matter how powerful the October 14 action, neither government, nor business are about to concede "an equal share" or "a full partnership" with labor, as some of the CLC brass appears to hope they will, or the CLC's ultra-left critics appear to stand in fear and loathing that they might.

When such a situation comes to pass in this country, we will know that it will not be terms or conditions of power-sharing that will concern us. But it will be the actual transfer of power, from where it presently is, in the grips of monopoly capital and all the ramifications of the capitalist state apparatus, into the hands of popular organs of public ownership and workers' control, that will be on the order of the day.

Business and government, which the CLC **Manifesto** recognizes as having "close identity", never even talk about, let alone actually concede anything in that direction, until they are faced with the actual loss of power. That is what the entire history of working class struggle demonstrates. And that is what life itself is affirming here in Canada on the plane of simple facts.

That there can be no doubt on this matter whatsoever was clearly demonstrated when, on September 13, the heads of government in Ottawa met with a galaxy of the most powerful figures in Canadian business. Although little of what actually took place at this gathering has been leaked, the daily press drew the intended conclusions for its readers. Both the **Star** and **Globe and Mail** presented it as a failed but genuine effort on the part of the government to convince Big Business of the need to consider the matter – thus they placed the government, which is bludgeoning labor with its wage controls, not on the side of Big Business, but floating somewhere in the middle – with the possibility of labor pulling it over to its side.

They were all there – those sectors of the capitalist class such as Bennett of Ford, Armstrong of Imperial Oil and Sinclair of Canadian Pacific, representing US imperialist interests, down through the ranks to John Bulloch of the Canadian Federation of Independent Businessmen. R.J. Bilodeau, president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, after weighty consideration said that a tripartite arrangement would not work because "decision-making belongs to government." Powis of Noranda Mines, who every day makes decisions determining the fate of thousands, said: "business, labor and government deciding matters would leave an awful lot of society out that way." The Honorable Donald MacDonald, under whose ministry the wage freeze is implemented, summed it up: "after discussions... I don't think a tripartite arrangement... will work in this country."

Could it be that this hypocritical concern, by Big Business and government, about the democratic process being eroded by tripartism is what caused NDP leader Broadbent to suddenly see in **Labor's Manifesto** a danger he hadn't seen before – and what's also behind the rumors that others in the Steelworkers' and Autoworkers' leaderships are now also seeing it with more open eyes? Broadbent, who has been vigorously stumping the country in full support of the October 14 Day of Protest, suddenly, in a national network TV interview took a public stance against tripartism on the grounds that such a body would by-pass parliament. Perhaps even more to the point is the question as to where the party he heads, still woefully weak in the federal arena, would figure in such a set up.

Labor's struggle against the wage freeze is above all a political struggle and the Day of Protest is nothing if it is not a mass political strike against the government. Yet the CLC leadership has been strangely silent about the NDP which it was instrumental in launching, and its support for the NDP, on which the party's future depends.

Tripartism is not a magic formula that will allow labor, and in particular its top brass, to move into the seats of power – to bypass the building of a mass political party of its own that can challenge the capitalist class on every front, including that of parliament. Tripartism in Canada is a myth. The contradictory musings on this question have served no purpose but to muddy up the chief significance of **Labor's Manifesto** which projects an alternative course to the capitalist wage freeze and cutbacks in social services.

The **Manifesto** calls for the wresting of "power from business and its government in the interests of labor," in order to institute "a system of national and economic planning" and "to forge the power to create a social democracy." This truly is the challenge before the working people of Canada.

For the ranks of organized labor and all the other forces that will rally to its side, that is the chief significance of October 14 and those concepts should come to the fore in labor's continuing struggle against the wage freeze.

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Schreyer's illusions get cut short by realities of AIB wage slashing

By Paul Kane

NDP Premier Ed Schreyer is in grave difficulty over the federal Anti-Inflation Program. The AIB is now launching legal action against his government for defying its rulings. And he has made it known that his government will in all probability pull out of its agreement with Ottawa when it expires this coming April.

When Schreyer declared his support "almost entirely" of Trudeau's policies, echoing his line that "we must change our life style", and then signed his government in behind the AIB, he was roundly condemned by labor as a sell-out and betrayer. Schreyer attempted a defense of his policy in the pages of the NDP federal office publication **Viewsletter**, claiming that his stance, not that of "Marxists or revolutionaries", was a positive one, necessary to make what he called "our political system work for us."

The AIB caught up with Premier Schreyer. His government agreed to a 14% wage increase for health-workers – but it was rolled back to 8%. It agreed to a 24% increase for the liquor store workers – but the AIB rolled it back to 12%. Recognizing the complete justice of the original settlements Schreyer admitted that it is "very difficult to live with" these AIB decisions.

His appeal to the workers who have to live on the rolled-back wage not to take strike action, has been accepted, on the grounds that his government fully agreed with the original settlements and is attempting to have the AIB rulings rescinded. In the meantime the Manitoba Liquor Control Commission took the decision to pay its 400 employees the 24% increase, despite the AIB ruling.

At this point Schreyer, while stating that he was "profoundly disappointed with the application of the letter and spirit of the Anti-Inflation Act" nonetheless affirmed that he still endorses the concept of Trudeau's program.

In this situation, the Manitoba Federation of Labor has had difficulty mounting an effective campaign against the wage freeze in concert with the rest of Canadian labor. Can one doubt the sincerity, the integrity of Schreyer? And is he not an educated man – a Rhodes scholar?

Be that as it may, and for all his calling himself a socialist, Schreyer has shown that he lacks the most elementary understanding that we live in a class-structured society where the political system, which he calls "ours", is in actual fact a system that has been developed and refined, not to work "for us" – the working class – but to serve the interests of the capitalist class. The political system is theirs – it is an integral part of a capitalist system. Any program of controls framed and enforced by the Liberals or Tories and their governments can only profit the class that the political system serves. It is simple-minded to separate out, as does Schreyer, "the concept" of Trudeau's program, the program itself – from the actual results of the program. A tree bears the fruit that is appropriate to its species.

For all the high-sounding words that were attached to the program, the organized labor movement, from the very start, rejected all concepts of trying to seek modifications of it or to live with it. It declared total and complete opposition and irreconcilable war against it. And now life itself has proven Schreyer to be completely wrong.

The Manitoba labor movement, now with this end of illusions, should enter into the fray with redoubled fury "to defeat wage controls and to mobilize," as **Labor's Manifesto** declares, "our strength behind the task of creating a more equitable and just society in the wake of that defeat."

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N.S. Enheat strike

By P. Kent

— October 1, 1976

The 400 Steelworkers who have struck Enheat Limited plants in Amherst, Nova Scotia, and Sackville, New Brunswick, for some three months now have refused to capitulate to the company's attempts to force them to further subsidize its operations through low wages.

The four USW locals, by a more than 90% vote, rejected company pressures, backed up to the hilt by the province's ministry of labor and ministry of development, and spearheaded by a report of a special industrial inquiry. The report urged them to get back on the job immediately, "even without a new contract," to assure the survival of the company.

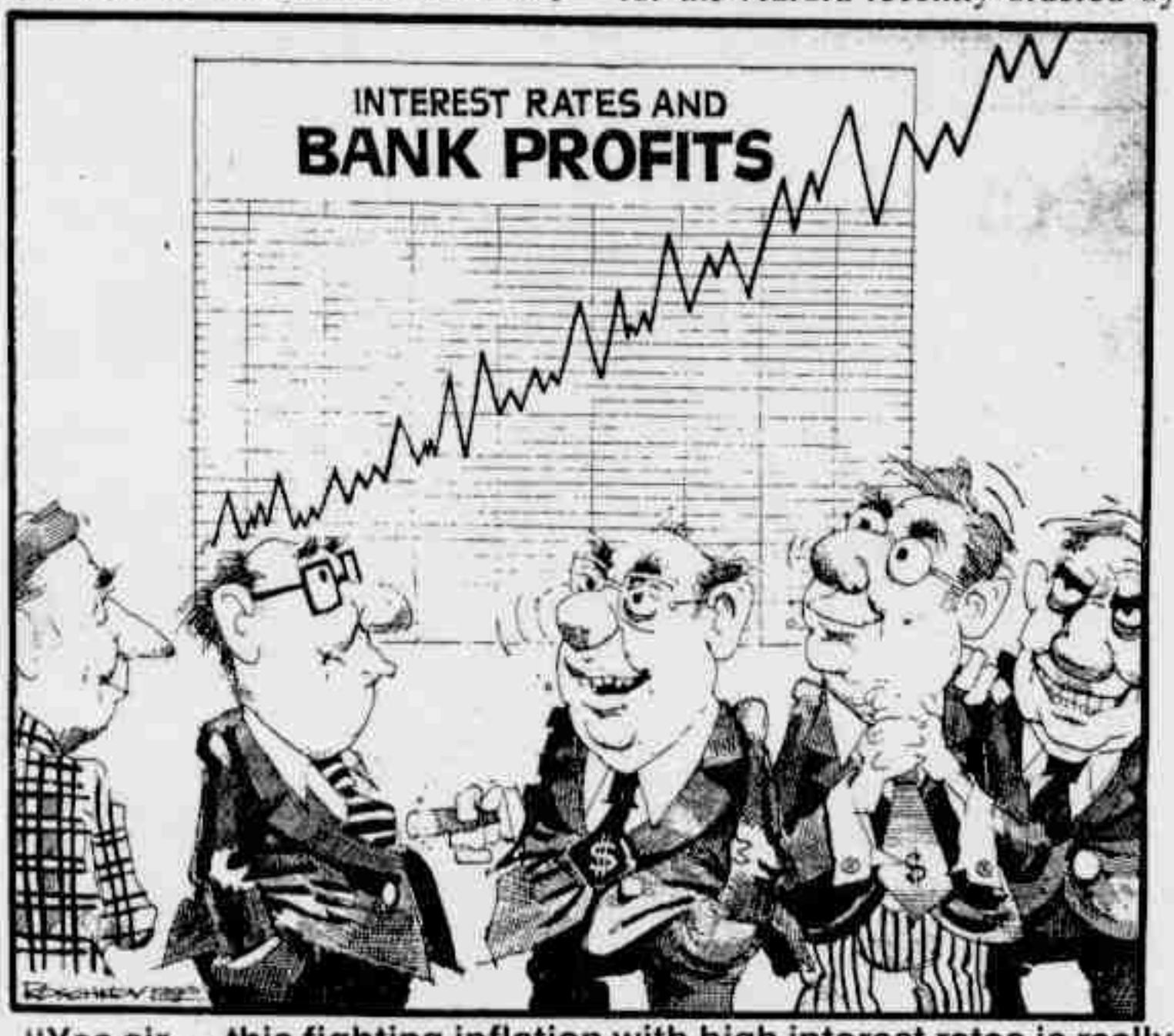
But the Maritime workers are standing firm and have decisively rejected such demands that they further sacrifice for the survival of the company. Their base rate before the strike stood at $4.40 an hour. They have been without a contract since December 1975. While they had earlier rejected a two year contract offer of 44 cents the first year and 22 cents the second, the industrial inquiry commissioner had the gall to recommend that they accept 9 cents an hour less, both on the first and the second year. A union bulletin issued right after the closed meeting where this ludicrous demand was rejected by secret ballot, declared that the members refused to be scapegoats for poor company management over many years.

Steel's sub-district director Paul Lepage said that any attempt by the company, estimated by union officials to be $5.5 million in debt, to place responsibility for its bankruptcy on the union, would be "sheer damned dishonesty." "It's high time new management and ownership was put in here to build a viable and prosperous industry", said Lepage, as he promised that the union would go to Ottawa or take any legal action necessary to protect the interests of the workers.

With the workers' refusal to accept the further pared back version of the offer that they had previously rejected, the labor minister accused *them* of being responsible for closing down the plant, and for losing their own jobs. According to the minister of development, if they were not back by October 3 the aircraft division of the plant would lose an $8 million order for components for the Aurora recently ordered by Ottawa from Lockheed.

But there is more involved than the fate of Enheat, said the exasperated Labor Minister Fitzgerald. "The real crux of the matter" is the impact that the steelworkers' decision will have on other investors, he admitted. The Maritime and Ottawa government's policy is to attract industry by maintaining the entire east coast as a low wage area. This is behind the Maritime Employers' Association's lockout of Halifax longshoremen which has closed down this key port since August 8. The ranks have now rejected for the second time their executive's memorandum of agreement that would undermine the union's control of jobs through the hiring hall.

Fitzgerald deplored efforts to convince the government to move into the situation by establishing public ownership of Enheat. "We don't have that kind of money," he said as he continued to press the steelworkers and their families to subsidize the multi-million dollar company out of their pitiful weekly wages.



"Yes sir — this fighting inflation with high interest rates is really tough".

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Who are the socialists who publish the paper 'Forward'

By Harry Kopyto

The paper you are reading is produced by members and supporters of the New Democratic Party who are fighting for a class struggle perspective in Canada today.

The articles you will read in this issue, as well as in others, are written by people actively engaged in the struggles about which we write. These struggles include the defeat of the wage freeze giving support to the Canadian Labor Congress protest actions; the fight of women to gain full control of their lives and equality at their workplaces; the struggle for a socialist Canada free from the shackles of U.S. corporate domination which both the Liberals and Tories support, the defense of oppressed national groups, such as non-whites in South Africa and the Palestinians in the Middle East struggling for self-determination; and the building of a powerful cross-Canada student movement which can protect students from cutbacks in education. We participate in, support and write about the resistance to government attacks in essential social services such as hospitals, and we defend bilingualism and the right of the Quebecois to determine their own future and defend their culture and language.

We have united in order to exchange experiences with the aim of gathering the forces needed to pose a consistent socialist alternative within the class struggle as a whole.

Though modest in size, our collective experience extends back through many decades of Canada's class struggle. We are united ideologically by the perspective of socialism as developed by Karl Marx and Frederich Engels which extends through the leaders of the Russian Revolution. We reject the Stalinist bureaucracies which dominate East Europe, the USSR and China, and we support the struggle for a political revolution to reassert real workers' democracy in these countries.

If you think you would like to find out more about our ideas, why not subscribe to **Forward**? You might also be interested in attending our regular weekly public discussions of events of interest to socialists, held every Friday at 53 Gerrard Street West, in Toronto. Or write us at that address.

Parents back Que teachers

More than 330 elementary and secondary schools across Quebec were closed down the first of this month when the 6,700 member Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers walked out. While they have been without a contract for more than 15 months all issues had been settled except workload. The Protestant teachers are demanding parity with the work load conditions that the Catholic teachers won last month in their contract settlement. A notable feature of the strike is the strong and active support that the teachers have won from pupils and parents.

The Quebec Teachers Federation, (QTF), which represents 60,000 French-speaking elementary and high school teachers is now polling its membership as to whether they approve an executive recommendation that they not sign their collective agreement until the Protestant teachers receive work load parity.

The QTF not only has a record for union solidarity but has become notable for its commitment to developing the province's public schools as instruments for the furthering of class consciousness. At its convention on the eve of the opening of the school year the 500 voting delegates committed the membership "to develop among students – future workers – an understanding of their interests and to contribute to the struggle for a profound change in the organization of society."

In his address to the delegates President Yvon Charbonneau declared that: "We have learned that behind management resistance to our demands, behind all the government strategy, stand the bourgeoisie and the big bosses who are really the ones who are fighting us." Charbonneau called for a permanent council of the three Quebec labor federations and suggested that after the formation of such a council the teachers federation might merge with the 150,000 member Confederation of National Trade Unions.

Que pilots' victory

While Trudeau launches his fellow cabinet ministers into a public speaking cross-country campaign to educate the people on the justice of bilingualism, Les Gens de L'Air dealt several sharp blows against his government which terminated the air traffic controllers strike a few months back by ditching the use of the French language in Quebec itself.

The government capitulated to the demand of the air controllers and chauvinist forces across the country that only English be used in air communications to assure safety. It forbade the use of French even in Quebec except in 6 airports where it is permitted for visual flights only. The government-owned Air Canada quickly issued orders which in effect eliminated the use of French on its planes for their navigation and operation. And it agreed to establish a three member inquiry commission to investigate the safety and along with it the cost and efficiency of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec.

On September 7 a petition sponsored by the Association des Gens de l'Air, composed of the Quebec air traffic controllers, won a Superior Court order requiring Air Canada to allow the use of French in aircraft cockpits. Air Canada's subsequent attempt to block this has been rejected by the Quebec Court of Appeal and it has been forced to agree, within two years, to translate its training and instruction manuals into French.

And now Les Gens de l'Air has laid down 16 conditions before Transport Minister Otto Lang for its participation in the government's three member inquiry. Without the participation of bilingual air controllers, the simulator tests by which the enquiry is presumably going to make its finding cannot even get underway.

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Oh Canada

By Paul Kane

The new Progressive Conservative leader Joe Clarke has made another open and shameless bid for US imperialist support of his campaign to become Canada's next prime minister. He made it before the Canada-United Kingdom Chamber of Commerce in London on the way home from his European tour.

What are in reality only empty posturings by the Trudeau government to blur the hard facts of its longstanding subservient and satellitic relation to US corporate power, Clarke condemned as tweaking the American eagle's tail feathers. He cited Trudeau's trip to Cuba and his government's removal of **Time** magazine's tax bonanza as "unnecessary quarrels" that may be a disadvantage when it comes "to negotiate real issues." It is clear that if he makes it, there won't even be tweaking of tail feathers.

With cynical bluntness Clarke named what he considers "real issues." They aren't Great Lakes pollution, Canada's imperilment by the construction of the nuclear-armed Trident submarine base just 100 miles south of Vancouver, or US cultural domination of Canada, but, as you have possibly guessed, "resources matters."

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The eminent newspaperman and confidant of Liberal Party bigwigs, Bruce Hutchinson, has just finished his memoirs. In a section just published in the **Globe and Mail** he relates an occasion where US president John Kennedy himself was so bold as to contact Liberal leader Lester Pearson over the telephone to tell him that he would do whatever he was asked to assure Pearson's re-election.

The Tories never protested this arrogant violation of Canadian sovereignty. Now Joe Clarke just wants to be sure that the incoming US president has the correct phone number.

According to the latest 54 page report of the Canadian-American Committee, composed largely of Canadian and US bankers, brokers and corporate executives – the worm has finally turned. Instead of continuing to adapt and capitulate to the pressures and orders of the US State Department and US corporate power, the Canadian capitalist class and its political stooges are now standing up and fighting. Apparently the working people are really putting on the heat.

The committee has this to say in its report: "It is virtually impossible politically for the Canadian government to *appear* (our emphasis) to be giving up something to the US, even if in return for a broader agreement bringing greater benefit."

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As for Secretary of State Hugh Faulkner, to whom the Council of Canadian Filmmakers gave The Zero The Fool Award, he has been called by an anonymous editor of the august **New York Times Book Review**, the Sam Adams of the revolution that is said to be taking place in Canada. The scrapping of **Time's** special tax privileges that caused it to fold up its Canadian edition came about, according to this writer, "in response to pressure from the colonials" – that's us Canadians.

The US colonials, 200 years ago, after trying to wrest concessions from their foreign exploiters, ultimately, in order to establish their independence, had to take the road of revolution. They did so under the leadership of a real Sam Adams. Can it be that this is what the anonymous **New York Times** editor is trying to tell us Canadians – that to be independent Canada has to go socialist.

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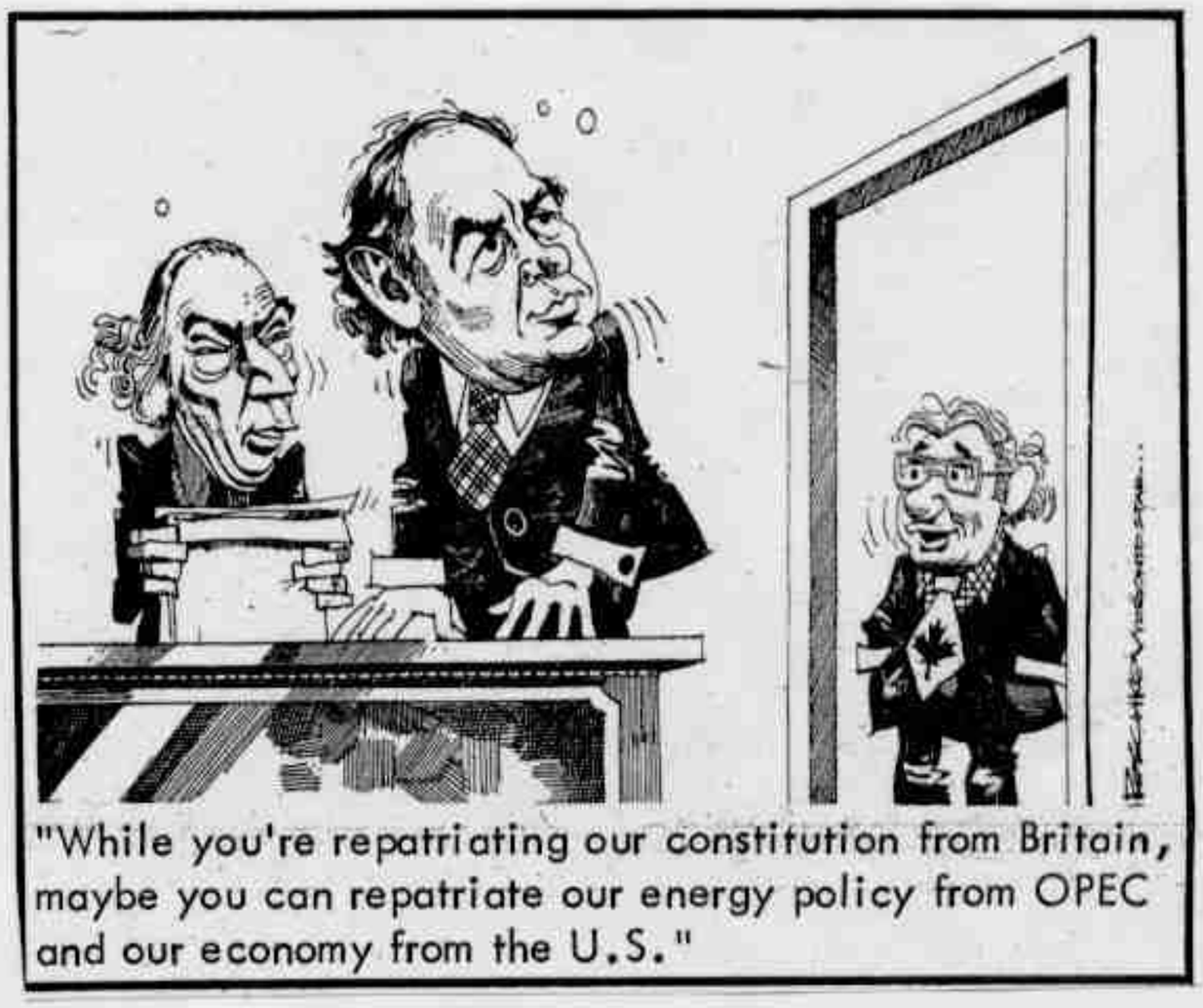
Millions of Canadians watching **Hockey Night in Canada** are compelled to see and hear the US oil industry's propaganda through its monopolization of the advertising time tied into the TV programming of what is called Canada's national sport. To rub it in, the Canadian public even pays for it because corporate advertising is tax deductible.

The September issue of **Ontario Report** contains an interesting article on the efforts of the Public Petroleum Association to counter this brainwashing. It also contains a valuable article by Jim Laxer on Imperial Oil. Perhaps even more important is the extended review by Mel Watkins of **The History of Canadian Business, 1867-1914**, by Tom Naylor.

Watkins hails Naylor's two-volume work for "applying a general Marxist analysis to Canada in such a way as to explain why Canada has evolved in a different way than Europe or the United States." He sees Naylor's analysis as offering "a fertile framework for other Marxist scholars in history, economics, political science and sociology – and Canada's dependent status as the cornerstone of our being is now firmly on the agenda of research." With this work Naylor "has made the greatest contribution yet to a Marxist understanding of Canada."

Ontario Report is $4 for a six-issue subscription from Box 6851, Station A, Toronto. Both **Ontario Report** and the two-volume Naylor work can be obtained at Forward Books, 53 Gerrard St. West, Toronto – the latter for $13.90 plus 10% for postage.



"While you're repatriating our constitution from Britain, maybe you can repatriate our energy policy from OPEC and our economy from the U.S."

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Ont. Union delegates call for socialism in Canada

By P. Kent

Nov. 22 — The manifesto before the delegates representing the 800,000 member affiliates to the Ontario Federation of Labor, coming on the heels of the successful October 14 24-hour cross-Canada general strike and the staggering defeat of the capitalist Liberal Party in its Quebec bastion, marks a further giant stride forward for Canadian labor.

The Quebec CLC Convention committed labor, in the course of successfully defeating the Trudeau government's wage controls and cutbacks, to mobilizing its strength in order to transform the political and economic institutions of Canada and create "a more equitable and just society." For the first time on the North American continent a major body of the organized labor movement set as its strategic aim the creation of a "social democracy."

The OFL manifesto not only reaffirms this as labor's objective but is even more concrete. "If we are ready for a general strike," the document states, "then we are ready for socialism. A general strike is a political act. So is building the party". It sets as labor's strategic aim a "socialist province in a socialist Canada." The instrument is the party that the OFL has endorsed as its political arm since its inception. But the manifesto thrusts the union movement forward from its past sideline encouragement and financing of the NDP into much greater involvement, urging that leading unionists run for office on the municipal, provincial and federal arena so that labor will take political power on every level of government.

The CLC manifesto's musings on tripartism, and illusions about labor, management and government collaboration voiced by some leaders, blinded many militants from seeing the significance of the adoption of the manifesto for the elevation and popularization of class politics and socialism into every level of the working class movement.

Cliff Pilkey, new OFL head, pledged to campaign for manifesto.

NDP leader Broadbent's opposition to the CLC manifesto, with arguments that its tripartism would undermine what he calls the responsibilities and authority of parliamentary institutions, only firms up the ludicrous posturings of the big business press and its spokesmen that capitalism and not labor is the pillar of democracy. A recent U of T seminar heard Peter Riggin, of the US-controlled Noranda Mines interests, who daily makes unilateral decisions determining the fate of thousands, hypocritically state that "the business community, even if it were invited to play a major role, is very likely to eschew any scheme which usurps the legitimate functions and responsibilities of a government democratically elected to represent all individuals and interest groups."

Trudeau himself, following his Quebec defeat, revealed who really rules Canada — not parliament but the corporate board rooms — when he hurriedly closeted himself with a select circle of top US and Canadian businessmen. He will address the public via TV in the near future, and parliament in the offing. And the Tory premier of Newfoundland has just announced his unilateral decision to turn the fate of the Labrador linerboard mill, that his government rescued from bankruptcy from international stock manipulator John C. Doyle and Canadian Javelin, over to a six-member board. The mill employs 1,400 workers and has been funded with over 200 million dollars from the taxpayers pockets. The board includes neither labor nor elected parliamentary representatives, but is composed exclusively of top businessmen, including William Bennett who heads the US-owned Iron Ore Company of Canada with its vast feudal domains in Labrador and Quebec.

The OFL manifesto calls for the establishment of an economic and social planning board with equal representation from labor, business and government. However, unlike the CLC manifesto's concept of a tripartite sharing of power, the OFL proposes that the board have only a consultative character, with labor free to criticize policies it disagrees with.

The tripartist concepts of the CLC manifesto, alhough there is no possibility at all of the capitalist class taking them up, caused many militants to oppose the manifesto in principle. With the modification in the OFL manifesto the militants have the opportunity to review and correct this error and take advantage of the perspectives opened up by these manifestos in this period of radicalization of labor's ranks.

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Jubilant Quebecois celebrate victory on eve of PQ election

PQ victory opens up a new era

The cheers of Quebec media technicians and the jubilation of massive evening victory parties expressed the excitement of all the dynamic forces and hopes brought alive in Quebec by the PQ victory and prospects of release from centuries of national domination. The working people of all Canada have every reason to join in the celebration of one of the most momentous blows ever delivered to the structures of capitalist exploitation in Canada and the federal Liberal party which has served as the bastion of its political rule.

What is it in this election that has the big-business politicians and analysts reeling? What caused a grim Trudeau to warn that it is just another government that has been elected and that he will not negotiate the terms of secession with that Quebec government, despite the fact that neither the people of Quebec nor the people of any part of Canada has had a say in Confederation? What is it that caused the hysteria mongering by big business and their hack politicians on the eve of the election, only to have their noses rubbed in a decisive PQ victory and their mouths twisted to issuing pleas for national reconciliation?

Brushing up speeches on national unity and sovereignty must have been a bit awkward even to these polished hypocrites. Successive leaders of Liberal and Conservative governments who have handed over Canadian sovereignty in various military alliances with the US, and before them with Britain, are suddenly concerned about the international integrity of Canada. Brewery and sport king Bronfman threatened to pull out of Quebec and take his baseball team directly into a US city at the same time as he expresses his love for a united Canada. Where is Trudeau's intransigence against Alberta Premier Lougheed and his attempt to carry on as if he were the governor of a US state as he appeals to US authorities to intervene in Canadian internal affairs?

The discredited and hated Bourassa regime pulled out all the stops in an hysterical anti-separatist campaign, threatening the Quebec people for the third time in a row with the wolves at the door if the PQ won. Their slogan "Notre Garantie" (Our Guarantee) expressed the last hopes of the Anglo-American capitalists for a government totally under their control. It is the defeat of this guarantee that is causing the turmoil among Canada's rulers.

That is what is causing them to worry out loud about Levesque as a "Lenin without a beard" and the implications that the PQ victory poses to Canada — socialism. That is what led the disturbed editors of the **Financial Post** and every other major daily to fret about the drift to socialism they see as inevitable in the situation.

Will lead to a labor party

In Quebec, the aspirations of the working people of Quebec from their first truly popular government will inevitably lead them to challenge the English-language policies of the Anglo-US bosses and their refusal to pay increased taxes and invest in manufacturing instead of just plundering resources. There will be demands to shift away from Olympic circuses towards working class needs and clean out the Augean stables of corruption that have provided the back allies for the venal capitalist control of Quebec. The PQ government will be sharply confronted by these questions. In the course of the collision between the working class's aspirations and the contradictory perspectives of the PQ with its petty bourgeois leadership, the labor party that truly meets the needs of the Quebec masses will be forged.

Just as the wolf stories and fear campaign of the Liberals have been cast aside in Quebec and replaced by a new openness, English Canada will also re-examine the basis of myths, like the need for Confederation-style unity to fight off absorption into the U.S. In reality, the so-called unity of Confederation has been the engine for that absorption, manipulated and used as useful tools by US giants.

What is needed is the unity of working people which cannot be achieved without recognizing the right of our Quebec brothers and sisters to choose, the form of government which best serves their sense of nationality and struggle against national oppression.

Apart from that, the election of a PQ government poses a major threat to the cross Canada stability of the Liberal Party, posing a major breakthrough of the NDP elsewhere and independent working class political action in Quebec itself. Already, prominent NDPers like Blakeney have identified with the new government's thrust toward social reform and even called for a PQ-NDP alliance.

The PQ election has turned a page in the history of Canada and has uplifted the hopes of oppressed nationalities around the world. It quickens the possibilities for a changed relationship of forces in federal politics. English Canadian working people have everything to gain from an examination not just of the processes whereby Quebec has been exploited, but also, the avenues Quebecois are exploring in the course of their struggle for liberation.

Forum discusses USSR and womans movement

By Richard Hunt

The Forward Forum has moved into a program of theoretical classes dealing with issues of interest to socialists. The first series, marking the 59th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, was given by Harry Kopyto.

The first class dealt with how the Russian Revolution could take place in a backward country like Russia. Despite the absence of a fully matured capitalist economy, the unevenness of Russia's development meant that it had one of the most concentrated and combative working classes in the world. Moreover, the working class was led by exemplary revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, who developed a position of consistent struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and who integrated the struggles of all the oppressed Russian masses into the program of one revolutionary party.

The second class dealt with the crucial question of what happened in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. What were the factors that could lead such bright hopes for the Russian people into the dismal recesses of Stalinism? Was this degeneration inherent in Bolshevism or the product of peculiar circumstances?

In this class, Kopyto outlined some of the problems inherent in an isolated revolution in a relatively backward country like the Soviet Union and the effects it was to have when coupled with the tremendous losses inflicted by the imperialist powers of the west on the Soviet working people.

In the absence of a continued revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe, the isolation and demoralization that took place in Russia led to the development of a bureaucracy which barnacled itself to the gains of the revolution. The representative of this bureaucracy was Stalin. In the name of proletarian democracy and Marxist-Leninism, Trotsky challenged the course of Stalin only to be forcibly deported in 1928-9.

The Forward Forum is currently in the midst of a class series surveying the theory and history of the women's movement. For further information, or to be included on the mailing list for weekly forums, call 595-1284.

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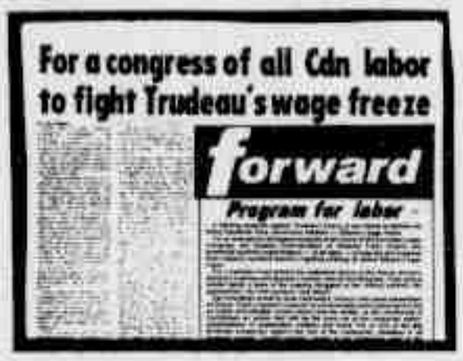
Oct. 14: acid test for the left

By Ross Dowson

The thousands of workers, students, and other victims of the wage freeze and cutbacks who joined the October 14 Day of Protest demonstrations in the major centres, were met with a shower of leaflets and papers from zealous partisans of various revolutionary groupings. While this cacophony of appeals testified to the increased number of Canadians who consider themselves to be revolutionists, it also revealed its badly splintered character and the ultra left and/or sectarian stance that most of it took in relation to this historic turning point in labor's struggle for social justice.

While the partisans of groupings that have become more familiar were there, new ones appeared, along with some not seen for some time. Among the latter was the Socialist Labor Party, the remnant of the pioneer Marxist movement in America whose leaflet headline falsely counterposed "Protest Against Wage Controls or Abolish the Wage System?" Among the former were the Canadian Communist League (ML) and its press **Forge, In Struggle**, and leaflets put out by an alliance of groups in Toronto, Montreal and Vanvouver, reflecting the breaking up and realliances taking place in the Maoist



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movement, along with **Labor Press** of the Workers League, and the **Militant Worker**, both of which identify with Trotskyism.

The **Militant Worker**, whose partisans come out of a series of conflicts originating in the League for Socialist Action, through the Revolutionary Marxist Group and the International Socialists, has sadly degenerated to promoting the primitive positions of syndicalism.

Marking the majority of these groups as ultra-leftist was the prevalence in the headlines of their newspapers and leaflets of the slogan "For an Unlimited General Strike". Among the variations of this demand were the graphics with the headlines "Protest? General Strike? Revolution!" - on the leaflet of the Canadian Party of Labor.

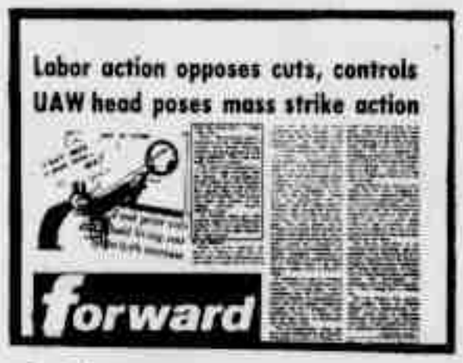
The slogan "For an Unlimited General Strike" and its variation "For an Indefinite General Strike" was projected both as the way ahead, but also with the critical edge that the CLC Day of Protest, the 24 hour general strike, was tokenist, a useless gesture, irrelevant, and designed to let off steam, to dissipate a militancy alleged to have reached the stage of a social explosion.

Its partisans ignore the colossal efforts devoted to mobilizing the October 14 Day of Protest — the struggles on the shop floors to overcome hesitations, to overcome the confusion and resistance of many of the secondline leaders across the country to the CLC executive call to strike the factories and to organize mass actions in the streets. **Forward** erred in its last minute appraisal of the situation at strike deadline last issue by reporting that "all the postal services and essential transportation facilities" would be closed down. The militants were not able to close them down even though armed with the authority of the CLC convention and its top leadership.

The advocates of the "Unlimited General Strike" slogan showed not the slightest awareness of the level of class consciousness and combativity of the working class in this country — neither of the objective situation that prevails, over which revolutionists have little or no influence, nor its subjective reflection in the minds and will of the class — which for the as yet quite small and isolated revolutionary groupings must also be considered as essentially part of the objective situation.

Most of the revolutionary left indulged in rhetoric and posturings of the fun-and-games politics that cropped up in areas of the student radicalization — the game of one-upmanship, of escalating demands and of framing non-negotiable demands — an infantile concept of vanguardism, of always having to be up-front, even if it meant out of hearing and out of sight of any significant component of the radicalization — revolution for the hell of it.

This ultra-left tendency in the revolutionary left was sometimes reinforced by and combined with a narrow dogmatism and sectarianism — most consistently demonstrated in the pages of **Spartacist**, published by a group that issued out of the League for Socialist Action, then the Revolutionary Marxist Group, which calls itself the Trotskyist League. As the CLC leadership shifted from opposition to any form of popular protest, onto the organization of the most massive demonstrations yet seen in Canada, then to the first 24 hour general strike in North American history, the Trotskyist League increased its cries that the trade union brass were nothing more nor less than "the bourgeoisie's cops." It ridiculed the rallies as "impotent" and heaped scorn on the leadership's resignations from government boards as "simply a sop." It dismissed the projection of a one day strike as being designed merely to siphon off protest, blow-off steam, as demagogic, and unserious, and the October 14 Day of Protest itself, as the "final 'militant' fling to assuage the anger of combative unionists



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before the curtain is lowered on labor's active resistance to controls."

The June-July issue of their paper which covered the CLC convention that endorsed the concept of a general strike, found the Trotskyist League stuck with the headline — "CLC Blocks General Strike." Early-August saw the CLC executive set October 14 as the day. Without an August issue they remained saddled with that line on into the September issue which was headlined "CLC Brass Angles for Pact with Trudeau."

In the midst of the preparations for the 24 hour general strike **Spartacist** devoted two full pages in their slim 16 page journal to an extensive quotation from a 1935 article by Leon Trotsky. It dealt with the general strike as an action to stop war. The relevancy of this particular article is by no means clear — and the section that they select for reproduction again in the following September issue, dealing with a general strike organized with permission of a capitalist government, is obviously completely irrelevant.

They appear to be totally ignorant

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of Trotsky's differentiation of a general strike which is a "demonstration", such as the Day of Protest, from one which is "an extraordinary upheaval of society and in any case calls for strength on the part of the revolutionary class. The general strike may only be applied when the working class and particularly its vanguard is ready to prosecute the struggle to the bitter end", he wrote in **Where is Britain Going** in 1925.

Trotsky did however have some highly relevant things to say about such elements as the Trotskyist League: "Sectarians who are capable of differentiating between but two colors: red and black. So as not to tempt themselves," he wrote "they simplify reality. .. At their base lies a refusal to struggle for partial and transitional demands, i.e., for the elementary interests and needs of the working masses, as they are today. Preparing for the revolution means to the sectarians the convincing of themselves of the superiority of socialism. They propose turning

→ to p. 2

their backs to the "old" trade unions, i.e. to tens of millions of organized workers, as if the masses could somehow live outside the conditions of the actual class struggle! They remain indifferent to the inner struggle within reformist organizations — as if one could win the masses without intervening in their daily strife!" Trotsky called for no "compromise with them even for a single day."

The **Spartacist** developed its sectarian line on labor's struggle against the wage controls in a series of attacks against the Revolutionary Marxist Group as its press, **Old Mole**, attempted to face up to the realities of the Canadian class struggle. In its April issue, after noting that the CLC leadership had taken a turn, though contradictory and incomplete but on the whole positive, the RMG urged that "a correct approach needs to be established in light of the bureaucracy's turn and increased prestige. On the one hand, the kind of infantile and demagogic anti-bureaucratic sniping which is characteristic of many left groups is particularly dangerous at a time when the left has a precious opportunity to increase the credibility of socialist and class struggle perspectives in the labor movement." And so it urged constructive proposals. In another article it stated "the rhetorical 'calls' for a general strike now by some of the far left groups are not particularly useful."

Alas! this tendency did not last long — not even to the next (May) issue, by which time UAW leader McDermott and CUPE leader Hartman had come out for a one day general strike, with Hartman suggesting it be held on the date when Trudeau announced the controls (October 13). The editors of the **Mole** responded that "such a delay would be a disaster". They thereupon projected the necessity of "nothing short of an unlimited general strike."

The same issue carried an extensive unsigned article which outlined in detail the unlimited general strike in such a way as to show to the writer's mind it is only another word for the Canadian socialist revolution: a revolution which can come about merely through the implementation of a series of organizational moves codified by a tiny group of revolutionists.

The October and October 27 issues of the **Mole** revealed the internal conflict within the RMG between ultra leftists, and others who are seriously trying to come to grips with the realities of the Canadian radicalization. This is demonstrated in the statement in the September issue that it is "the verdict of October 14 that will determine how both sides proceed in the months ahead," and the previous concept that cries for general strike "are not particularly useful", versus the now-recurring theme that it is necessary to mobilize behind the slogan "For an Unlimited General Strike", even while admitting that October 14 revealed there were "serious weaknesses in the labor movement and highlighted just how far it is from launching" such a struggle. Thus the ultra left prevailed.

In classic ultra-left workerism, **Workers Action**, published by the International Socialists who issue out of a current that developed in the Waffle, joined by some ex-RMGers, depicts the October 14 action as having "exploded" and having "erupted" completely outside of anything done by the CLC leadership. It presents the union brass, who everyone knows denounced the controls from day one, as not being out to bust controls, and, with October 14, having used up its "last weapon."

Its incapacity to arrive at an understanding of the contradictory character of the trade union leadership caught **Workers Action** July issue with a headline "CLC Meets Trudeau! Ditches General Strike". Its September issue called the action projected on October 14, one year after the imposition of controls, a "meaningless birthday celebration". With its October issue **Workers Action** joined in the hulabaloo for an indefinite general strike. Pandering to the tendency among some militants to attempt to by-pass the structures of the labor movement, in effect give up the difficult struggle to win them, during past months **Workers Action** has been calling for the mobilization of a "real movement against the government." Its projected indefinite general strike is also to take place outside of and in the face of the opposition of the present structures of the labor movement — through a nowhere-yet-visible "rank and file organization".

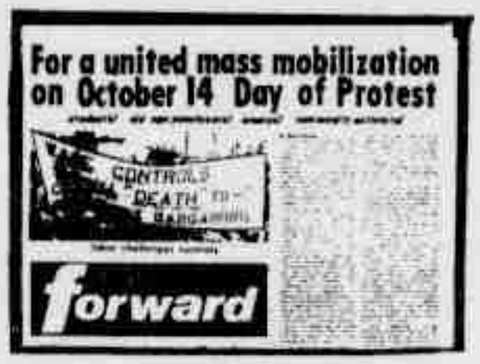
Most of the revolutionary left acted as if the labor party did not even exist. While the RMG talked of political solutions, it scarcely even mentioned the NDP or any serious political alternative. In the face of the vigorous attempts of the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Federations of Labor to force the NDP governments in those provinces into opposition to the controls, the **Mole** even counselled defeat by pontificating that "Once in government it (the NDP) has no choice but to attack us to shore up private profit which is the very basis of capitalism." That the NDP fully identified with the October 14 protests is ridiculed by the editors of **Workers Action** as nothing but an attempt to divert such actions "into the dead end street of ballot boxes and parliamentary juggling acts," as they pandered to backward prejudices with comments about "professional politicians."

Labor Press, published by the Workers League, another partisan of the "Unlimited General Strike", projected the possibility of bringing down the Liberal government Now! Instead of seeing the anti-wage freeze actions as building up support for an election of an NDP government, it flamboyantly projected the smashing of the Liberal government and its substitution by an NDP government as an immediate objective for the working class.

It declared itself for the NDP to power — with the proviso that the NDP, which it denounced in the same article, along with the CLC, as being "tied hand and foot to the system and which will not mobilize the labor movement to get rid of the Liberals", must develop socialist policies. These policies include the nationalizaton of basic industry and the banks "without a penny of compensation," as if no compensation is a principle, and the "occupation of all plants threatened with layoffs and closures."

On the other hand, **Labor Challenge**, published by the League for Socialist Action, correctly posed the question of the NDP, supporting it, without laying down any conditions for that support. Aside from a shameful tailist position developed in an article by its editor in the June 21 issue, it restored to grace such concepts as "work to build the NDP", "fight for an NDP government and join us in the struggle to win the NDP to socialist policies." Two years ago the leadership of the LSA turned that organization into turmoil over these and other concepts which resulted among other things in the publication of **Forward**.

The revolutionary left should stop and make a serious study of its views and how they were developed and applied in this turning point action in Canada history.



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With the developing crisis confronting the capitalist class and their political parties, the working class are now undergoing a radicalization not seen since the end of World War II. Then, history found the revolutionary socialists with too few forces to get a real hearing. Today the situation is qualitatively more favorable — particularly from the point of view of the numbers and the resources of those who consider themselves to be revolutionary socialists. For the first time they have a real opportunity to break out of isolation and move forward in an effective way towards becoming a substantial and ultimately the decisive force.

Instead of advancing the cause of Marxism or Trotskyism, October 14, when hundreds of thousands were prepared to give a sympathetic hearing, found them making mockery of the very ideas that they claim as their own. If they do not reverse their course the revolutionary socialists will not only dissipate their energies and frustrate the anticipations of their precious forces, but by their own ignorance and misdeeds be guilty of isolating themselves.

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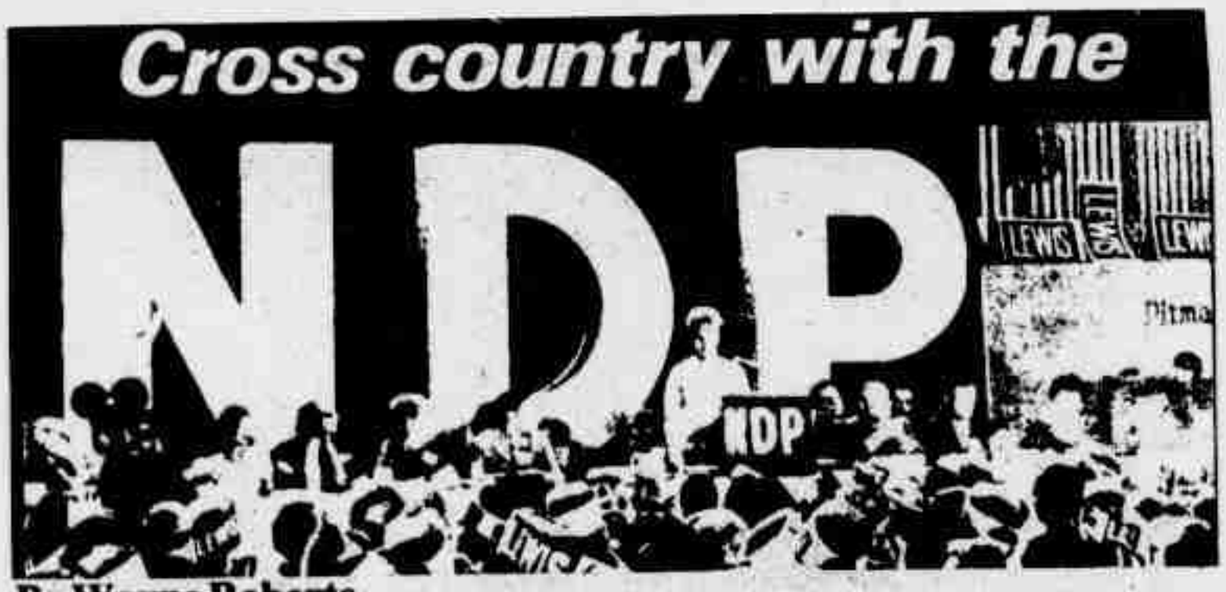
Cross country with the NDP



By Wayne Roberts

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For whom Bell tolls

Cyril Symes, NDP MP from the Sault, brought another infamy of notorious Ma Bell to the attention of his fellow MP's this November 18.

His preamble and motion were as follows: "Whereas the chairman of Northern Telecom has stated that his corporation, a subsidiary of Bell Canada, has threatened to shift a major portion of its operations to the United States due to the business climate; whereas Northern Telecom is the major supplier of communications equipment to Bell Canada and as such is a major contributor to costs that Bell passes on to telephone subscribers; and whereas the proposed shift would have very severe economic and employment repercussions for this country, I move...

'That Bell Canada and its subsidiary Northern Telecom be placed under full public ownership and operated as a public utility to ensure both employment for Canadian workers and an export capability in communications technology for this country'".

The motion was not formally introduced into the House because it failed to receive the unanimous consent of all MP's.

Mixed up economy

In an item titled "practical thoughts", Donald MacDonald, longtime leader of the Ontario NDP and its present agricultural critic, has reviewed a new book by Anthony Crosland in the November issue of **Canadian Forum**. Crosland was the most influential of the social democratic "theoreticians" of the 1950's to put forward the revisionist thesis that public ownership was no longer the key to socialism.

According to Crosland, the mixed economy of crown corporations and properly regulated private corporations within the general framework of capitalist social relations and the capitalist state, could solve the basic problems of democracy and equality. Largely under the inspiration of "thinkers" like this, the CCF leadership in Canada mustered the forces to bring their ideology into line with their practice: in 1956 they dumped the original CCF commitment to struggle "until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full program of socialized planning..."

This program and perspective of mixed-up reforms, particularly the emphasis on regulating capitalism, continues to guide the NDP leadership. For MacDonald they still "command respect". However, even these leaders occasionally find it necessary to broach the question of public ownership. In Saskatchewan for instance, the NDP government was forced to nationalize potash for "purely practical reasons". More recently, the Saskatchewan NDP government has purchased five percent equity of the new Northland Bank. The bank, 50% controlled by co-ops, will primarily serve small and medium businesses concentrating on loans of between $200,000 and $2 million.

In their own "mixed" way, they have come to see that control is impossible without ownership. Under capitalism, economic development takes place according to the anarchic laws and cycles of profit. Governments which attempt to regulate corporations in the interests of people quickly find themselves blackmailed or sabotaged by corporations, as the recent experience of the BC NDP government well illustrates.

Nuclear power debate

The Saskatchewan NDP is currently in the midst of an important debate on nuclear energy. The NDP government's plans to introduce nuclear power in a big scale has sparked widespread opposition in the party.

The widely read Saskatchewan **Commonwealth** opened its pages for readers' comments. Saskatoon scientist and constituency club president Alan Boulton, pointing out the inherent dangers of nuclear explosion and waste, lashed out at the government. How could the government take such a position, he asks. "The answer to this would appear to be that decision making has passed into the hands of technocrats and corporations. The need to make profits and consolidate the industry... is paramount". Boulton calls for a moratorium on nuclear development until such time as the public has the chance to express itself.

The NDP **Commonwealth's** editorial was equally critical, charging the government with reversing the party's longstanding concern for mankind in all matters relating to the nuclear issue. They point out: "While the safety record on Canadian nuclear reactors has been good, the massive cleanups that have been conducted recently in Port Hope and Uranium City can only be a cause of alarm. The occupational safety record of the miners in Ontario is one of the bitter tragedies of our age".

A move to nuclear power by an NDP government would give the green light to Tory and Liberal governments across the country. These governments are all eager to dabble in the dangers of nuclear power in waterfall-rich Canada, since it allows for export of electricity to power-hungry US corporations.

If the Canadian people are not to be sacrificed to this capitalist finale of resource plundering, all moves to nuclear energy must be halted until guarantees for total safety have been developed.

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Oh Canada

11-12-5

Paul Kane

According to a Reuters dispatch from New York, the Conference Board of that city has released data on a survey taken in Italy which has about 700 US companies operating within its borders, and in Canada, with about 4,000 US companies.

"Those surveyed said the corporate political contributions have been a longstanding practice and such contributions are necessary to help keep their political party systems free from government financing and control."

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When Ottawa ended the honorary Canadian citizenship that it had been driven into conceding to **Time**; through which that magazine could grant a 100% tax write-off to Canadian advertisers, it softened the blow by pulling back in the case of its partner-in-privilege **Readers Digest**. Now **Readers Digest** has established itself as a Canadian magazine.

Of course Readers Digest (Canada), the original branch plant operation of the US Readers Digest Association, carries on. But something has been added — a new company called Readers Digest Magazines Limited — and issuing out of that, a charitable foundation known as Readers Digest Foundation of Canada.

Approved by appropriate government officials, all that is now to be done is the working out of a formula to meet the law: stipulating that besides being 75% Canadian-owned, 80% of the editorial content must be different from the parent edition.

The 75% Canadian ownership finagle works this way. US Readers Digest Association controls Readers Digest (Canada) through ownership of 70% of its shares. Readers Digest (Canada) in turn controls Readers Digest Magazines Limited through owning a mere 25% of its shares and removing the remaining 75% from any possible contestant's hands by depositing them with the Readers Digest Foundation of Canada. The Foundation, safe in the hands of suitable appointees, will from time to time dispense awards for the improvement of journalism in Canada over which Readers Digest has such a debilitating influence.

Readers Digest (Canada) will continue its present highly profitable operations in the book publishing, records, educational and home entertainment markets and siphon off income from Readers Digest Magazine in the form of dividends, service fees, etc.

So much for Ottawa's Canadianization.

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While pretenses that the Foreign Investment Review Agency will block and roll back US corporate takeover of the Canadian economy, as was its declared aim, have become a standing joke, recent FIRA and Liberal government activities have added something new.

After having twice placed aside the application by the US-owned WCI Canada Limited to take over the appliance division of Westinghouse in Hamilton, FIRA and the cabinet have finally acted.

The US-owned Westinghouse plant, it is now assured, will not fall into the clutches of the US-owned WCI Canada Limited. According to the recent announcement of Industry Minister Jean Chretien it will become an integral part of a new unnamed appliance company. This company will be controlled by the Canadian branch plant of the much more powerful US-owned General Electric, and the Canadian-owned General Steel Wares.

Not only has the giant US corporate powerhouse, General Electric, enormously strengthened its position in Canada, but the new appliance company will start off, in the words of Chretien, as a company "more powerful than any other in Canada." Its estimated total sales, based on the simple addition of the three acquired operations, will be between $300 and $360 million annually. Chretien revealed that the merger will not be subject to the Foreign Investment Review Agency and that he sees no problems with the Combines Investigation Act which is supposed to restrain monopolies. Established in a strategic position at birth, the new company will increasingly dominate the field at the expense of Inglis and Admiral, and of course the Canadian consumer.

Should WCI hold out on the use of the Westinghouse trademark it appears that General Electric will turn over its Hotpoint trade name which has a well established Canadian consumer demand through the spillover of US advertising into Canada.

The Canadian Consumers Association is seeking to intervene in this situation on which Ottawa has stamped its approval.

●

Back in the early 70s in response to the rising popular concern about the US takeover, Ottawa announced that Canada's "special relationship" with the US was ended. Around the same time it announced that Canada was going to pursue a "third option" — it was going to lessen Canadian dependency on the US by seeking out investment from and developing trade with Japan and the European Community.

While others took these words as good coin, we did not; primarily because the process of Canada-US integration is too far advanced and it is no longer a matter for Canadian capitalism of will or choice. No serious action could be taken along this line unless the working class has the political and economic power to determine investment and the development of the economy along the lines that Labor's Manifesto projects.

Some five years later, on the eve of Trudeau's much touted trip to Japan, **Financial Post**, reported that Japanese investment in Canada stood at a modest 450 million dollars and that the recent flurry of Japanese investment across the world in 1,600 investments ended with a combined total in Mexico and Canada of a mere 59 million dollars.

The consensus of opinion at the recent conference on Canadian-US Relations held in Toronto by the Conference Board of Canada, was failure on every count. Claude M. Isbister admitted that with the third option, performance on all fronts has been disappointing, and that "everything has gone in a contrary direction."

R.M. MacIntosh, co-chairman of the Canadian-American Committee, and executive president of the Bank of Nova Scotia, admitted, that the outcome "has been two public documents which are long in verbal felicity and short in content." He ridiculed the third option concept with the words "diversification of vulnerability does not sound to me like the reduction of vulnerability". Noting the very real "special relationship" of Canada with the US, the facts of cultural, geographical and interdependence of trade and investment, he expressed wonderment that "we could have announced that the special relationship is over."